FAMILY, CAPITALS AND EDUCATION: A TRIPTYCH MODEL OF CLASS REPRODUCTION

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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD 2020

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Department of Sociology,
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Subject: **INCORPORATION OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF FOREIGN AND INTERNAL EVALUATORS IN PHD DISSERTATION OF MR. SHAHZAD FARID TITLED "FAMILY, CAPITALS AND EDUCATION: A TRIPTYCH MODEL OF CLASS REPRODUCTION"**

Sir,

The undersigned pertaining registration number 16-FSS/PHDSOC/F14, Department of Sociology, International Islamic University, Islamabad, has completed his PhD dissertation titled "Family, Capitals and Education: A Triptych Model of Class Reproduction", under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Saif-Ur-Rehman Saif Abbasi, Department of Sociology, International Islamic University, Islamabad. It is hereby stated that, in compliance of the recommendations of the foreign and internal evaluators, the undersigned has incorporated all the recommendations in the above-mentioned PhD dissertation.

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FORWARDING SHEET

This thesis entitled, “FAMILY, CAPITALS AND EDUCATION: A TRIPTYCH MODEL OF CLASS REPRODUCTION” submitted by Shahzad Farid in partial fulfillment of the requirement of PhD degree in Sociology has been completed under my supervision. I am satisfied with the quality and originality of the research work. I allow the researcher to submit the dissertation to concerned authorities for further process as per rules and regulations.

Date _____

Supervisor _____

Prof. Dr. Saif-Ur-Rehman Saif Abbasi

STATEMENT OF UNDERSTANDING

I, Shahzad Farid Reg. No. 16-FSS/PHDSOC/F14, student of PhD sociology, Department of Sociology, International Islamic University Islamabad hereby declare that the thesis entitled, "FAMILY, CAPITALS AND EDUCATION: A TRIPTYCH MODEL OF CLASS REPRODUCTION" submitted in partial fulfillment for the requirement of PhD degree is my original work, except where otherwise acknowledged in the text.

Date _____ Signature _____

Shahzad Farid

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ABSTRACT

Reproduction theory claims reproduction of unequal distribution of resources i.e. capitals, whereby, the structure of unequal distribution of resources perpetuates across generations. The perpetuation of the structure is conditioned with different strategies that agents use in order to perpetuate their relative social positions in social space. The present study aimed to evaluate reproduction theory through construction of a model named triptych model of class reproduction. The model was constructed using methodological principle of modelling i.e. isomorphism, Ockham razor, ignoratio elenchi, quantification and generativity. Thus, considering the relational logic of Bourdieusian reproduction theory that proposed integration of proponent concept of theory with each other, the model was schematized at three interrelated levels, theoretically and empirically (statistically). Theoretically, the first stage incorporated social space of positions in order to identify the class location of positions as well as homology of practices, conditions of existence, distance from necessity, volume, composition and trajectory of capitals. The second stage dealt with major propositions of the theory i.e. reproduction of class and capitals, perpetuation of class in next generation and conversion of capitals. Lastly, it introduced mediation models of reproduction theory. In order to construct space of positions and to evaluate the models, a sample of 690 respondents through Cochran's equation of sample size determination was selected. The sample was further distributed across 14 social positions through equal proportionate technique. The respondents from three districts i.e. Multan, Bahawalpur and Dera Ghazi Khan, of Southern Punjab were approached through stratified random sampling techniques. The empirical part of the study is designed on three stages as well. The first stage dealt with structure of social space of positions through multiple correspondence analysis, whereby, chiastic nature of the structure, homology of practices, distance from necessity, conditions of existence and classes (of respondents and fathers) were also identified. At second stage, the major propositions of reproduction theory were assessed through log linear model of homogenous association. Third stage dealt with mediation models of class reproduction theory through path analysis. The study explored that the structure of South Punjab is chiastic –economic, cultural and social capitals are unequally distributed across social positions. Respondents with social positions of factory owner, zamindar, university teacher, lawyer, manager and medical doctor were found in dominant class, whereas, rest of the social positions were located in dominated class. Similarly, fathers with social positions of factory owner, zamindar, medical doctor, engineer, manager, lawyer, politician and university teacher were located in dominant class. The dominant class,

therefore, had distance from necessity that showed their highbrow taste and activities. However, cultural capital especially institutionalized cultural capital was high among university teachers and relatively lower among other social positions located in dominant class but the global volume of (economic) capital was high in all social positions in the class. Such distribution of resources affirmed the 'composition of capitals'. Moreover, the homology of practices and conditions of existence were almost similar in each class. The dominant class pertains high economic, highbrow social and highbrow cultural capital that indicated their homology of practices and similar conditions of existence. Similarly, the dominated class has low economic, lowbrow social and lowbrow cultural capital that dismantled their smallest distance from the necessities which, in turn, showed lowest chances of the development of taste in the class. Based upon class identification from the social space of positions, the log linear model included class (fathers and respondents) and capitals (of respondents). The results of the model showed the fit of the data ($G^2 = 35.892$, $\chi^2(16) = 35.552$, AIC = 3.892, BIC = –68.7). The results affirmed class reproduction through significant interaction of dominant class of father with dominant class of the respondents ($p<.001$) and their capitals ($p<.001$, $p<.05$). The class perpetuation in the next generation was explored through significant interaction of dominant class of the respondents with their economic and cultural capital ($p<.001$). Moreover, significant interaction of economic capital with social and cultural capital was identified ($p<.001$). Based upon the generativity principle of methodology of modelling, the model also proposed that intact family system could more appropriately facilitate class reproduction than non-intact family system, the model fitted the data ($G^2 = 33.49$, $\chi^2(16)= 39.275$, AIC = 1.49, BIC = –67.789). Moreover, the model was also assessed across gender and education. Lastly, the first part of the mediation models explored no significant mediation of habitus between cultural capital and education of the respondents ($p>.05$). However significant mediation of cultural capital between mothers' cultural capital and education of the respondents was explored ($p<.05$). The second part of mediation models found that aspiration of political power significantly mediated economic capital of fathers and social capital of the respondents($p<.05$), and cultural capital of mothers and social capital of the respondents ($p<.05$). The model significantly fitted that data ($\chi^2(3)= 6.28$, $p>.05$, GFI = 0.997, AGFI = 0.939, CFI = 0.998, RMR = 0.047, RMSEA = 0.053). It was also explored that importance to have upper class culture negatively mediated cultural capital of mothers and economic capital of the respondents ($p<.05$). The model fitted that data ($\chi^2(3)= 5.6$, $p>.05$, GFI = 0.997, AGFI = 0.946, CFI = 0.998, RMR = 0.043, RMSEA = 0.047). Rest of the mediation models were insignificant ($p>.05$). The study concluded that resources are

unequally distributed across social positions in South Punjab and this unequal structure of resources reproduced from one generation to the next by using strategies of conversion of capitals. The study suggested that future studies should include instrument of reproduction which will link the reproduction theory with legal systems. Future studies should also assess reproduction theory through gender and family system simultaneously such as class reproduction through females in intact family system. lastly, it is also suggested the reproduction theory should be assessed using triptych model of class reproduction.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

PDHS	Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey
PBS	Pakistan Bureau of Statistics
OECD	The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
NIPS	National Institute of Population Studies
CGSP	Compendium on gender statistics of Pakistan
PPC	Pakistan Penal Codes
HIES	Household Integrated Economic Survey
CIRP	The Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan
CA	Correspondence Analysis
MCA	Multiple Correspondence Analysis
PCA	Principle Component Analysis
CATPCA	Categorical Principle Component Analysis
MCMK	Multiple Correspondence *K*-Means Model
SEM	Structural Equation Model

Dedicated to

Children of Drs-Naazari

Chapter 1

Introduction

Introduction of chapter

The chapter comprised two parts. The first part introduces theories of reproduction and matrix of relationship among major variables of the theories through previous studies. The part also indicates the gap in the body of knowledge with specific focus on the studies conducted in Pakistan. The second part of the chapter introduces context of the Punjab where the study is conducted (Southern Punjab). The chapter ends with stating purpose, significance, objectives and hypotheses of the study.

1.1 Class reproduction

Class reproduction is a social process, whereby, society replicates its social stratification (Toren, 2004) by strategizing its social attributes i.e. accumulated capitals of family in a field e.g. education, that reproduces the social positions of its agents across generation in a stratified society (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a; Apple, 2012). For example, agents from dominant class perpetuate their class or relative positions in social space while successfully being through the process of educational consecration (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a). Tzanakis (2011) stated that family, education and class have central role in reproduction theory of Bourdieu.

Althusser, Bourdieu, Bernstein, Bowles and Gintis mainly developed theories of class reproduction. Although Karl Marx (1955) has modeled reproduction as he asserted, "even a child knows that if a social formation did not reproduce the conditions of production while producing, it would not last a year" (p. 209) but his work primarily concerned with economic (capital) reproduction in capitalism. Signifying the process of class reproduction, he claimed,

> "every social process of production is, at the same time, a process of reproduction…no society can reproduce, unless it constantly reconverts a part of its products into means of production…Capitalist production, therefore, under its aspect of a continuous connected process, of a process of reproduction, produces not only commodities, not only surplus value, *but it also produces and reproduces the capitalist relation*; on the one side the capitalist, on the other the *wage laborer*" (Marx, 1887, p. 395-401, *my emphasis*).

The reproduction of capitalist relation and wage laborer is representing class reproduction in his writings. However, Marx and Engels did not give considerable attention to education as a strategy of reproduction (Morrow & Torres, 1995, p. 11). Althusser ([1971] 2014) extended Marxist class analysis to social institutions including education in reproduction theory and introduced a comprehensive systematic elaboration of reproduction of relation of production in capitalism (Thapan, 1988). He advanced the church supremacy thesis in educational domain by arguing that in mature capitalism, modern education system replaced the church supremacy. Therefore, he believed, that dominant ideological state apparatus is scholastic apparatus (p. 144). Moreover, being consistent with revolutionary spirit of Marxism while incorporating his philosophical and theoretical assertions of reproduction of social formations in the domain, he asserted that the reproduction could only be destroyed if labor class takes state power in their hands "…because the state is the key to the reproduction of capitalist relations of production" (Althusser, [1971] 2014, p. 127).

However, the theories have been confined either conceptually or geographically. Morrow & Torres (1995) argued geographical confinement of empirical studies of social reproduction (p. 6), whereas, Gewirtz and Cribb (2003) claimed emerging context specification of the theory. It can be viewed that Bowles and Gintis ([1976] 2011) theory of class reproduction is contextually restricted to American educational system that examined the latent functions of unequal pedagogic practices and curriculum. Such unequal schooling system has 'hidden curriculum' and pedagogic practices of elite class to inculcate "the class taste" among students who in turn reproduce the system of inequality. Althusser's theory, like Marx, is conceptually confined to economic reproduction but varied in factors of reproductions e.g., ideological state apparatuses (Althusser, [1971] 2014). However, Bourdieu's theory is contextually confined to French educational system, whereas, Bernstein's model of reproduction is vitally concerned with social class, codes and education. He claimed,

> "Education is a class-allocatory device, socially creating, maintaining and reproducing non-specialized and specialized skills, and specialized dispositions" (Bernstein, 1977, p. 185)

Although, the theory has been contextually confined by researchers have been advancing it conceptually such as the emergence of new forms of capital. Marx studied traditional modes of class reproduction, whereas, Bourdieu criticized these modes and argued that dominant class adopted new strategies of reproduction, contrary to traditional strategy of

inheritance, which values education system as a key element in reproduction process (cited in Robinson & Garnier, 1985). The curriculum, pedagogic practices, educational meritocracy, etc. these all elements favor economically privileged students and also give advantages to the students who have already accumulated cultural capital ("the cultural goods transmitted by the different family PAs" (pedagogic actions), Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a, p. 30, parenthesis added) that dismantles biased educational system. Therefore, he believed that educational meritocracy is bourgeois meritocracy (Bourdieu, 1984). Thus, the educational system does not discourage unequal class system rather it reinforces and reproduces it (Bourdieu & Boltanski, 1978; Bourdieu & Passeron 1990a).

It is important to describe that theories of class reproduction are demarcated by culturalist and economic dimensions in relation with class analysis. The analysis of class and reproduction of class or inequality in culturalist perspective focus upon "culture of class" (Crompton, 2006), whereas, economic accounts emphasize upon material resources. Further, the concept of class in these dimensions is also described distinctively. The culturalist conception revolves around patterns of behavior, use of language, consumption of cultural goods, lifestyle, etc. such as Bourdieusian class analysis. On the contrary, economic perspective weighs material resources and associated institutional influences as Althusser's emphasized on ideological state apparatuses.

However, the concept of class is yet ambiguous and vague because its conceptualization either primarily focuses to construct boundaries in order to form group of people with similar economic resources or is multifaceted which encompasses both material and non-material resources as well as status and culture. In Marx writings, class is based upon material resources, social relations of production and exploitation (Marx, 1987; Wright, 2005, p. 30), whereas, Weber focused upon market relations and life-chances (Weber [1946] 2010; Parkin, 2002, p. 93). Others believed that it is a mixture of cultural and economic resources e.g., Bourdieusian class analysis (Bourideu, 1984; 1996). Further, American tradition of class analysis is individualistic, whereas, French analyzed the concept in more structural and political way (Sayer, 2005, p. 72).

In an attempt to organize such multiple class conceptions, Wright (1979, 2002, 2004, 2005) organized its conceptualization on 'relations and gradations'. In relations domain, class is further defined in terms of relations of production (e.g., Marx's class) and market relations (e.g., Weber's class). Relations of production was used by number of sociologists for class

analysis such as Dahrendroff examined class in the sphere through authority relations (e.g. superordinate and subordinate), Mills used technical division of labor (e.g. white and blue color) and Marxists such as Lenin implied exploitation as a heart of class analysis in relations of production. Moreover, Sayer (2005) introduced a dichotomous division as 'abstract and concrete' conception of class, wherein, abstract is not used as a synonym of "'vague'…but *one-sided* or selective" (p. 72). In the dichotomy, Marxist class is abstract because it emphasized on specific aspects. On the contrary, Bourdieusian class is concrete because it is multifaceted that incorporates material and non-material assets. However, in empirical studies, the conceptual and methodological terrain, somehow, refined the conception of Marxist and Weberian class and class analysis. For example, Wright's (1979, 2004) and Wright and Perrone's (1977) operationalize the concept through means of production and labor power and Goldthorpe's and colleagues' class schema (1974; 1980; 1992) on Weberian theory of stratification in relation with labor market. Such operationalizations of class, on the one side, systematized the unorganized work of the theorists and, on the other side, signified the conceptual foundations of the construct.

The neo-Marxist and Weberian perspectives also made some new developments which, apart from structural and market-oriented analysis, acknowledged and emphasized the imperative role of family and marriage in class analysis. Wright (2005) described that other than material resources, social relations such as family, connects individuals with class relations. Further, marriage also determines one's class location (p. 18). Erikson and Goldthorpe (1992) tagged family "the unit of class 'fate'" (p. 233) because it involves economic decisions and strategic actions within class structure. Similarly, Mills (1956), like Weber, described that connubial relations within power elite contribute to strengthen the closure and monopoly over resources (p. 31) which Bourdieu (1996) signified by asserting that, "*the monopoly*, when recognized, is converted into a *nobility*" (p. 79). Althusser ([1971] 2014) also maintained the prominence of family in reproduction legacy by acknowledging shift from church-family dyad to school-family dyad as dominant ideological apparatus (p. 144).

Moreover, another important advancement in social reproduction is emphasis of empirical studies on marriage and its types such as educational and occupational homogamy – marrying or tendency to marry within similar educational (Mare, 2016) and occupational group. Scholars assented that homogamy is central analytic concept in understanding reproduction (Van Bovels, 2012) because, as Wright described, it contributes in defining the

relative positions of individuals in social structure by providing profitable returns (Becker, 1973, 1974; Bourdieu, 1990b, 1996). Such profitable returns through marriage, on the one hand, accrue family resources (Blossfeld, 2009, p. 515) and, on the other hand, provide better life chances for next generation (Hwang, Saenz, & Aguirre, 1995), that is to say, that the cultural and economic resources of a family determine the resources of next generation (Bourdieu, 1984; 1996). Therefore, the perpetuation of resources through homogamy sustains the social position of family across generations.

However, marriage is not the only strategy to be used to reproduce class position or location of family. Bourdieu (1984; 1996) argued that agents used alternative strategies to sustain their social positions if the former strategy becomes unsuccessful. In capitalist societies, use of education (and education system itself) is the vital strategy of reproduction of class and labor power. On the account of education system as a mediating device of reproduction, both culturalist and economic theorists have consensus. Althusser ([1971] 2014) claimed that schools not only reproduce labor-power with required qualification in the labor market but it also reproduce dominant ideology and practices of the ideology that, in fact, is the ideological subjection to the ideology (p. 52). Bernstein (1977) labeled education a class-allocatory device (p. 185) and Bowles and Gintis ([1976] 2011) named it an arena of social struggle (p. 5). Further, Bourdieu (1984, 1996) and his associate (1990a) introduced a comprehensive theory that integrated family, education, resources (monetary and non-monetary) and class, wherein, education system facilitates children with highbrow cultural resources, supported by economic resources, that ensures their educational success, thus, in return, guarantees to acquire the positions in labor market they are destined for.

In a nutshell, the theories of class reproduction dismantle how family, education and resources are interrelated to facilitate the agents with high socioeconomic and cultural assets to reproduce the structure of inequality (Giroux, 1983; Mills, 2008); and how integration of theses apparatuses with resources corresponds to the structure of exploitation.

However, despite the comprehensive discourse, integrative framework and rigorous methodological and empirical analysis, scholars criticized the theory. Broadly, Giroux (1983) and Thapan (1988) contended the theory by arguing that it prioritized structure and neglected human agency while examining reproduction of inequality. Sullivan (2003) labeled habitus – a system of dispositions (Bourdieu, 1977a, p. 72) – and cultural capital as vague and ambiguous. Cole (1998) pointed out that Bowles and Gintis neglected race. Moreover, several

other researchers (e.g., Farkas, 1996; Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999; Tzanakis, 2011; Goshgarian, 2013) also found weaknesses in the reproduction theory (Gewirtz & Gribb, 2003).

Despite the criticism, the theory was widely studied, appreciated and empirically evaluated by the researchers across the globe. Kaufman and Gabler (2004), Dumais and Ward (2010) and Gaddis (2013) evaluated the theory in the United States of America. Willekens and Lievens (2014) in Belgium, Lewicka (2005) in Poland, Hatlevik, Guðmundsdottir, and Loi (2015) in Norway, Sullivan (2003) in Britian, Riaz (2009) in Pakistan, and Tramonte and Willms (2010) evaluated the theory across the countries recognized by The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

In empirical studies, Bourdieu's theory of reproduction gained much attention of the researchers due to its multidimensional approach, structure-agency integration and new forms of capital which surpass, albeit with complexity, other reproduction theories. Majority of the studies aimed to evaluate the theory, focusing upon selected propositional relationships of variables in the theory. For example, the relationship between family structure and academic success (e.g., Pearson, 2009; Roosa et al., 2012); capitals and academic success (e.g., Rosenbaum & Rochford, 2008; Szybka, 2010); family structure and reproduction (Douglas, 1997; Crompton, 2006); and capitals and reproduction (Zutter, 2001; Smart, Hutchings, Maylor, Mendick, & Menter, 2009) was extensively appraised. However, Bourdieu proposed the mediating role of habitus and cultural capital in reproduction theory which have rarely been focused.

Nevertheless, some researchers took the initiative. Gaddis (2013) and Palardy (2015) studied habitus as mediator of reproduction. Sullivan (2003) assessed mediation of cultural capital between cultural capital of parents and education of students. Cheng (2015) applied cultural capital theory in the field of media and explored that 'media-use' mediates between network diversity and cultural knowledge. However, in Pakistan, Riaz (2009) selected neither habitus nor cultural capital as mediator of class reproduction. Other studies on reproduction in the country selected qualitative research design. Ullah (2016) used Bourdieu' theory to explore reproduction of gender hierarchies. Malik (2012) found reproduction of social hierarchies through educational institutes. Such studies indicated that mediating role of habitus and cultural capital in the country is yet to be explored. This study attempted to fill the gap because Bourdieu (1984) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1990a) emphasized that cultural capital and habitus are mediators of class reproduction.

Theorists acknowledged that education and family are key concepts of reproduction theory. However, the concept of reproduction revolves around unequal distribution of resources and class differentiation, therefore, class, capitals, family and education are a matrix of relationship in reproduction theory. The following sections briefly described this matrix of relationship through previous studies. Furthermore, chapter two comprised profound explanation of each variable involved in the theory.

1.2 Family, education and reproduction

Bourdieu (1984; 1996) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1990a) described that children from advantaged families are highly likely to succeed in education due to their early socialization in family. They learn patterns of behavior that education system admires which children from disadvantaged family background are unable to acquire. They have high aspiration of success in education and labor market. Such patterns of behavior and aspirations develop in family and ingrain in habitus. Habitus is defined as ingrained and durable dispositions. Moreover, it directs actions of agents and mediates between structure and agent. It is structuring structure, structured structure and feel for the game. Bourdieu (1998) revealed its relation with behavior by stating, "The habitus is this kind of practical sense for what is to be done in a given situation (p. 25)". Thus, it relates previous experiences with given situation to act. Cumulatively, habitus is a system of "durable, transposable *dispositions* structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively "regulated" and "regular" without in any way being the product of obedience to rules" (Bourdieu, 1977a, p. 72).

Bourdieu and Passeron (1990a) asserted that education differentiates status and form symbolic hierarchies. He clarified such differences by giving an example of two individuals working in same organization, having same job and competence but have different classes due to educational differences, so does the habitus (Bourdieu, 1984). Family inculcates such grammatical codes of behavior which signify symbolic differences among actors in each field. Thus, dominant (i.e. class with relatively higher economic, cultural and social capital) and dominated class (i.e. class with relatively lower economic, cultural and social capital) have dominant and dominated habitus, that is to say, the disparity of high and low aspirations.

As it deals with educational outcome, it takes into account the retention of students in educational institutions. Lehmann (2007) found that most of the students from lower

socioeconomic families leave their universities because they do not 'feel university". Similarly, Thomas (2002) used habitus to explore students' retention in a university. He found that students tend to retain their higher education by adapting with university environment.

Apart from habitus, plethora of studies examined how family influences education of children. Evidences showed that family with high socioeconomic status invests in education of their children (Duncan & Magnuson, 2003) that ultimately increases their chances of upward mobility (Amato, 2005) and accumulation of resources (McLanahan & Percheski, 2008). Moreover, Biblarz and Raftery (1999) and Sandefur and Wells (1999) explored that children from intact family structure are more likely to pursue higher education. Similarly, Lillard and Gerner (1999) found that students from intact family structure attained sustainable education and higher academic success at higher education. On the contrary, evidences showed that single parent family could not effectively support education of their children (McLanahan & Percheski, 2008). Thus, family is one of the potential factors that involves in titivating or depleting academic performance of children (Astone & McLanahan, 1991; Biblarz & Gottainer, 2000; Björklund, Ginther, & Sundström, 2007; Francesconi, Jenkins, & Siedler, 2010) as well as reproduction of social position of family (Bourdieu, 1984, 1996).

McLanahan and Percheski (2008) introduced a model of family structure and reproduction of inequality mediated by parental resources i.e. parental capitals and parenting style. They argued that family structure i.e. intact and non-intact is highly correlated with children's educational outcomes. They argued that single mother family decreases income of mother due to childbearing responsibilities that in return produces poor parental resources for children. Such poor parental resources negatively affect caring mother and fatherhood in monetary and non-monetary forms that negatively affects children's educational outcome. Thus, it decreases the likelihood of their higher-level employment and well-being. Conclusively, they asserted that family structure reproduces inequality.

Although, McLanahan and Percheski (2008) related family structure with reproduction of inequality yet they neglected culturalists' accounts of reproduction. Family structure does not incline to reproduce only one aspect such as cultural reproduction rather it encompasses multiple factors e.g. economic and symbolic reproduction. Therefore, almost all factors a family comprised of required to be reproduced, otherwise the concept of family would be distorted (Zeepedia, 2016) or renewed. Crompton (2006) discussed such mechanism in his study on "class and family". The reproduction in relation with family is accounted for by two

dimensions i.e. cultural and economic. While discussing these dimensions, Crompton (2006) clarified that although both of the reproduction dimensions are different but assented the prime role of family in reproduction. Thus, although both cultural and economic approaches deal with reproduction separately but viewing both approaches together holistically affirms that family pertains reproduction of its sociocultural and economic aspects. Therefore, researcher included economic and cultural capital in the study.

Evidences from Pakistan on relationship between family and education are also consistent with previous studies from foreign countries because family intervenes in educational choices as well as in academic performance of students. In the country, breadth of the studies conducted focusing on family and educational outcomes of children (Khatoon, 2008; Chohan & Khan, 2010; Suleman, Aslam, Hussain, & Shakir, 2012; Bilal, Tariq, Aleem, Shabbir, & Parveen, 2013; Waqas, Fatima, Sohail, Saleem, & Khan, 2013; Chaudhry, Khaliq, Agha, & Hassan, 2015). However, a smaller number of studies (e.g., Khan, 2014; Khurshid, 2014) selected higher education to evaluate the relationship between family and education. Although, a smaller number of studies dealt with higher education, yet they did not focus on reproduction rather determinants of positive educational outcomes.

Conclusively, considering the argument of McLanahan and Percheski regarding family system and reproduction, researcher hypothesized that intact family system facilitates class reproduction better than non-intact family system. Further, incorporating suggestion of Crompton, researcher evaluated the reproduction through forms of capital i.e. economic, cultural and social, across family system.

1.3 Capitals, education and reproduction

Assenting social world as accumulated history and urging to reintroduce capital, Bourdieu generally defined capital as accumulated labor (Walther, 2014). Specifically, partly similar to Marx, he acknowledged,

> "Capital is accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated,' embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 15).

Pondering on the Bourdieu's conception of capital, Beasley-Murray (2000) argued that his definition of capital is more of "value" than capital itself because labor theory of value, especially of Marx, defines value as accumulated labor (p. 105). Bourdieu also conditioned the accumulated labor with appropriation contingently, not strictly or absolutely. Therefore, in his definition, value is taken as synonym of capital. Thus, the capital in process – "which, when appropriated…" –is not solely rests upon the process of appropriation to be defined but it could be realized in the process. Desan (2013) also said that Bourdieu's conceptualization of capital, especially in *The forms of capital* (1986) reminds Marx's theory of value. However, he found otherwise, because Marx's theory of value is not theory of capital and capital, in process, is not commodity, whereas, Bourdieu's definition of capital is definition of commodity (p. 330). Therefore, the realization of commodity in the form of capital relies on its profitable use (p. 331).

Nevertheless, capital without relational thinking would give no meaning to its definition because his epistemological postulates do not imply linear logic but relational. The question, then, that how capital is relational, evokes the inclusion of "field" –"network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97) –in the discussion because it is the place where value of a capital determines, agent's struggle over resources occur and his/her relative position defines. He clarified while echoing his relational thinking in terms of capital and field that a capital has no existence without the existence of a field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 101). Thus, the existence and functions of a capital depends upon field where it found itself being valued, conserved, consumed and attempted to convert.

However, it does not mean to impose complete automation of the field because the field also depends on the distribution of capitals. He asserted that the structure of the distribution of capital determines the structure of field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 108). Therefore, his conception of capital is not bound to the process, as of Marx, relation of production and exploitation but realizes in relation with field.

The problems of misconception about his conception of capital and, in fact, other constructs, arise when scholars, intentionally, attempt to seek his theoretical assertions and propositions within other perspectives e.g. Marxist and Functionalist. He placed himself beyond such perspectives even denied being tagged as post-modernist or post-structuralist – dominant discourses of his time. He said that seeking the work of an author under Marxism, functionalism, etc. would tell nothing about the author (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Therefore, his understanding of the world should not be confused with other theories. However, to reduce the intensity of such misconceptions about him and to make his theoretical framework explicit, researcher made comparative discussion e.g. similarities and distinction on Putnam, Coleman and Bourdieu on the accounts of social capital, and Marx and Bourdieu regarding economic capital and so forth. Moreover, the relationship of microcosms i.e. fields, with agents through habitus that potentially contribute in structure-agency problematic discussion is also described in detail (see chapter 2). Here, he briefly introduced the constructs under discussion and the matrix of relationship among them.

While criticizing Marxist economism and economic capital, Bourdieu (1984, 1986, 1990b, 1990c, 1992, 1996) and Bourdieu and his associate (1990a) introduced and explained new forms of capital. He believed that other forms of capital have not been introduced without no reason. He is known for his theory of cultural capital –non-economic assets that potentially contribute in succeeding in the field of education (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a). Bourdieu (1984; 1986) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1990a) argued that family transfers resources to children, these resources are not only monetary rather non-monetary as well such as skill, content of language and art to speech etc. These characteristics represent cultural capital of children that they utilize in educational field in order to succeed. Specifically, the capital has three forms: embodied, objectified and institutionalized.

The embodied cultural capital, the "long lasting dispositions of mind and body" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 17), acquires, consciously and unconsciously, over time because it demands "time" to be accumulated. The investment of time by family in children during early

socialization influences character-building, way of behaving, abilities, attitudes etc., which are usual examples of embodiment of such characteristics. However, the embodied form is not constant; it can intentionally be accumulated by investing more time in learning such as learning gymnastic.

The objectified form is cultural goods such as books, artistic picture, furniture etc. Moreover, taste associated with economic capital demarcates objectified form among individuals. For instance, possession of a picture and Picasso distinguishes possessors by the virtue of the taste they have for the art. In fact, taste is expensive, thus, conditioned with "distance from necessity" –distance from basic needs (Bourdieu, 1984). In other words, an agent with higher economic capital distances him from necessities and, in turn, increases the probability of the development of taste.

The institutionalized form is the recognition or consecration of cultural capital from a legitimate institute i.e. educational institute. It can be perceived in the way that educational credentials of an agent is institutionalized form of cultural capital of the agent. In other words, the recognition of one's cultural capital officially by an educational institute means to award corresponding academic credentials of the recognition. Thus, the credentials pertain objective value of the cultural capital invested in educational field (Bourdieu, 1996).

Cultural capital was extensively empirically assessed in education due to Bourdieu's proposition of its positive effect on educational success (Bourdieu, 1984, 1996; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a). Several studies evaluated the proposition and found positive correlation between cultural capital and academic success (DiMaggio & Mohr, 1985; Farkas, Grobe, Sheehan & Shuan, 1990; Katsillis & Rubinson, 1990; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 1996; Crook, 1997; Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999; De Graaf, N., De Graaf, P., & Kraaykamp, 2000; Sullivan, 2001; Dumais, 2002; Van de Werfhorst & Hofstede, 2007; Cheadle, 2008).

It is important to clarify that cultural capital especially embodied form is not human capital (see Becker, 1964 for human capital theory). The epistemological difference between the capitals is rational and habitus driven action –the former is associated with human capital and the later with cultural capital. Bourdieu hardly left a chance of criticism on human capital because, firstly, he proposed that abilities (important indicator of human capital) are product of family investment in cultural capital e.g. embodied form. Secondly, human capital is confined to economic domain and, thirdly, it ignored how education system tends to reproduce

the structure of inequality (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 17). Moreover, referring to Gary Becker, he also stated (in notes) that he focused on monetary costs and profitable returns, and ignored symbolic and non-monetary profits (p. 26-7). Thus, he preferred cultural capital, including its forms, over human capital in his analysis of positive educational outcomes. Therefore, researcher also preferred cultural capital in the study on human capital.

Social capital has three approaches that share similar properties having subtle differentiation. The three approaches are the scholastic work of Putnam (1993; 2000a, 200b), Coleman (1988) and Bourdieu (1977a, 1984, 1986, 2002) that unanimously acknowledged – one central aspect of the capital – that social capital is "network resources". It has been explored that variegated contextual experiences result in differentiation of social capital (Lin, 2001; Parks-Yancy, DiTomaso, & Post, 2008). Therefore, upper class social capital is highly accumulatively different from lower class. Additionally, several studies have examined its relationship with educational outcome (Dufur, Parcel, & Troutman, 2013; Brouwer, Jansen, Flache, & Hofman, 2016).

Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995) explored significant effect of social capital – operationalized as relationship with institutional agents– on academic success of students and argued that unequal distribution of relationship with institutional agents resulted in unequal academic success. Furthermore, he explained it as more of a structural problem because working class youth has scarcity of social capital, whereas, upper class family enriches their youth's social capital. However, Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995) were unable to explain how social capital reproduces inequality. Mogues and Carter (2005) empirically explored and validated the relation between social capital and reproduction of inequality. In the study, they explored that unequal distribution of social capital resulted in unequal economic capital. In other words, actors with higher or highbrow social capital are highly likely to reproduce higher economic capital and actors from lower economic class, possessed lower social capital, are highly likely to reproduce lower economic status.

Economic resources in possession of a family is known as economic capital (Fan, 2014) which is convertible into cultural capital, and cultural capital into social capital. The social capital is again convertible into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 16). Bourdieu (1986) claimed that economic capital is convertible into cultural capital because upper class family purchases education credentials (via economic capital) to develop the taste of art and literature, content of language, style of speech, etc. among children. In the factory of reproduction i.e.

educational institute, this accumulated cultural capital utilizes and refines (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a). Afterwards, this cultural capital begins to generate economic capital e.g. through employment (Bourdieu, 1996). Agents use such convertibility of capitals as one of the strategies of class reproduction (Bourdieu, 1984). The corresponding principle discovered by Bowles and Gintis ([1976] 2011) also showed such convertibility but in a passive way because, according to the principle, agents in education were trained to correspond with the rules of labor market which make the exploitation easier. The researcher also incorporated such conversion of capitals by agents in conceptual model (see chapter 2).

As social and cultural capital have been studied to predict educational outcome, similarly plethora of studies explored significant positive effect of economic capital on academic success of students (e.g., Ra, 2011; Cheng, 2012; Baoyan & Minggang, 2015; Ince, 2015; Møllegaard & Jæger, 2015; Cheng & Kaplowitz, 2016). Contrary to the scarcity of studies on other capitals in Pakistan, economic capital has widely been studied by researchers (mostly operationalized through the indicators of socioeconomic status). They found its positive relation with academic success (e.g., Memon, Joubish, & Khurram, 2010; Akhtar, 2012; Suleman et al., 2012; Javaid, Akhtar, & Abbas, 2012; Ara & Aziz, 2013; Ghazi et al., 2013; Azhar, Nadeem, Naz, Perveen, & Sameen, 2014; Khaliq, Baig, Ameen, & Mirza, 2016).

In Pakistan, although economic capital has been studied widely but its role in reproduction has not been measured that should be given as much importance as cultural capital attained because economic capital is base of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 24). Therefore, the researcher also included economic capital (and social and cultural capital) in the study, which is treated as one of the imperative indicators of class.

1.3.1 Education: the mediator?

Baron and Kenny (1986) defined a variable a *mediator* "…to the extent that it accounts for the relation between the predictor and the criterion" (p. 1176). Statistical implications demand direct effect of independent variable on dependent variable prior to the mediation (Preacher & Hayes, 2004, p. 717). Studies by Dumais (2002) and Gaddis (2013) are examples of simple mediation model of reproduction theory.

The above discussion on capitals, family, education and reproduction revealed that Bourdieusian theoretical framework involves mediation of education. However, scholars have different point of views such as Lareau (1987) and Tzanakis (2011) asserted that education is

the crucial factor that involves in class reproduction while rejecting cultural capital as mediator of class reproduction. Katsillis and Rubinson (1999) explored that academic success mediates class reproduction in Greece. They concluded,

> "Educational systems not only promote social reproduction and achievement, but *social reproduction through achievement*" (p. 278).

Rumberger (2010) developed a model to predict children's earning or job status, wherein, he emphasized that academic success mediates family and their job status (reproduction in terms of job, earning or monthly income). The model concluded,

> "The effect of social class background on adult earnings was moderated by a number of human capital variables—educational attainment, cognitive skills (tests scores and grades in eighth grade), and noncognitive skills (educational expectations and locus of control)…" (p. 253).

Therefore, firstly, it can be claimed that previous studies recognized that there are some factors which mediate family and reproduction in which cultural capital and habitus have the highest priority. Secondly, Previous studies (e.g., Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Bryson 1996; Peterson & Kern, 1996; Alderson, Junisbai, & Heacock 2007) also acknowledged that class reproduction is not directly linked to cultural capital. Although several western scholars suggested this mediation but it neither empirically studied nor suggested in Pakistan. Thirdly, the role of class background (i.e. family background) or class origin has been neglected in quantitative studies. Martin (2010) stated that empirical studies on class reproduction rarely focused on the role of family background in the process. This researcher focused on identified gaps in the previous literature with specific emphasis on the studies conducted in the country and attempted to fill the gap. In order to do so it included family, education and economic and non-economic capitals in the study.

The following section of the chapter introduced structure of the Punjab in relation to education, occupation, family, marriage, *Biradari*, etc. The second chapter consisted of detailed explanation of each variable of reproduction theory, its correlates, empirical evidences, strategies of reproduction, etc. It also introduced conceptual model of the study. Chapter 3 described methodology of the study and plausibility of the selected variables. Chapter 4 dealt with empirical part of the study. It comprised of three parts. The first part of the chapter discussed univariate analysis and association of capitals with social positions and other

important variables. The second part constructed social space of positions in order to explore the structure of distribution of capitals, homology of practices, distance from necessity, class location of positions, etc. The third part assessed the model developed to evaluate class reproduction. The part also assessed mediation models. Chapter 5 comprised of major findings, concluding remarks and suggestions.

1.4 The Structure of the Punjab

The social structure of Pakistan comprised several diversified components that can be expressed through its diversified ethnicity, religion, class etc. Each component has its own dynamics and dynamism by provinces generally and by cities specifically. For example, interprovincial differentiations have vitally been characterized by ethnocentric beliefs, political economy and policy exploitations. These differentiations are also rooted in intra-provincial social relations by caste, class, sect etc. These intra and inter provincial differentiations are the product of several sociohistorical processes. For example, social diversities are product of substantive impositions on members of family, caste and sect to stick fast to the family honor, inherited caste and religious sect, whereas, the "Locals" (indigenous inhabitants of the territory long before partition of subcontinent on 14 August, 1947) and "Mahajer" (immigrants to Pakistan from India after partition) within the province are the product of larger historical transnational-transitions especially political reformations after World War II and substantive end of British rule in the subcontinent.

Blochi and Pakhtuns have linguistic differentiation within Balochistan but Pakhtuns have stigma of Afghan emigrants that relegates their nationalism. Chauhdaris of Punjab are landlords (not all of them), whereas, lower castes such as Kammis, Chuhras and Mussalis have the same status as Badnasals of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has (Gazdar, 2007). Religiously, Islam is distributed among several sects (e.g. Sunni, Shia, Wahabi, Deobandi etc.) across provinces. In a nutshell, apart from economic aspect, Pakistani society is also diversified by several other aspects that are highly influential in the production of social hierarchies.

It is important to focus on ethno-cultural perspective of the country because majority of the population is living in the rural areas (113.28 million; urban = 71.07, National Institute of Population Studies [NIPS], 2017) where land as a mean of production prevails. Thus, apart from capitalism that can be observed in upper Punjab and urban areas of other provinces, *Zamindari system* is more important to study structural relations with ethnic fabrication.

However, it mechanized in and with *Biradari, Qoum* or *Zaat* system. Therefore, initially the section clarified ethnic dynamics and dynamism, and then the major components of reproduction theory in the context of Punjab. However, capitals are intermingled within ethnicity, zamindari, power accumulation, etc. that make its interrelated existence in the structure that's why the capitals are discussed where necessitated e.g., economic capital is

highly important to signify zamindari; social capital is discussed in ethnic polarization; and cultural capital is described in family and education but each capital's discussion is not confined to its corresponding domain only.

1.4.1 Ethnic polarization

In Punjab, caste system is known as *Biradari*, *Qoum* or *Zaat*, a prime factor of identity and identity formation that revealed its "the function" when a person is asked "who are you" it means "what is your Biradari?" Eglar (2010) explained that people in Punjabi villages traced their same lineage within same caste. It is a common belief that members of same bradari have common ancestors that ultimately make them relatives. The system guides its members' routine life, marriage patterns, food choices, traditions, customs etc. It defines social status, directs interaction patterns, explains family lineage, determines political support, provides common linguistic codes and tone, etc.

The social hierarchies are intermingled because of simultaneous memberships in several groups of an individual. A Chaudhary – an upper caste, in Punjab could be religiously Sunni, linguistically Punjabi and regionally mahajer. Similarly, a kammi – a lower caste, could also be Sunni, Punjabi and mahajer as well yet extreme status difference exists between them. The difference can be accounted for by capitals, family (name) and education. Although, these two groups are ethnically similar yet distinguished, hierarchized and restricted. The intersection of hierarchizes can be best delineated by Bourdieu's (1984) concept of field –autonomous and interrelated with capitals. Field is related with its corresponding habitus and capital e.g. in economic field, economic capital and class habitus correspond to economic volume. Ethnic differentiations are characterized by their similarities e.g. same group membership yet distinguishable by its corresponding capital e.g. cultural capital. The distribution of cultural capital within same ethnic group is unequally distributed such as 'cultural taste' of chuadhary families sets cultural standards for themselves, kammis and other lower castes that establishes ethnic polarization within same ethnic group.

The important aspect is to retain 'distinction within similarity' –Bourdieu named homology –which can only be sustained by continuous accumulation and exercise of accumulated power, its representation by restricting less privileged to accumulate the capital(s) – social closure – and transmission of accumulated power and capitals within family across generations. The transmission of capital(s), power, privilege and prestige within same family

establishes status polarization within same ethnic group e.g. Punjabi, chaudhary and kammis. Such transmission in Punjab is more like family impositions across generations to preserve family status no matter what because it is not just a matter of economic and socio-ethnic relations rather self-respect or family honor. In Bourdieusian sense, this differentiation and reproduction of the differentiation can be viewed as symbolic hierarchies and reproduction of symbolic hierarchies, respectively. Such symbolic hierarchies reveal how ethnic polarization is polarized within same ethnic group by status.

The imposition of ethnic diversity by families produces intra caste ethnocentric beliefs within social components of structure, for example, sayed caste has been religiously superior to all other indigenous castes in Punjab. Exogamy is prohibited in the caste (especially for daughters) because they are the offspring of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) whose daughter married to His paternal cousin Ali (RA). Therefore, the caste is matrilineal because Prophet Muhammad's son died in adolescence. The sayed family is highly stringent on endogamy, thus the family reproduces its socio-religious prestige, privilege and honor by maintaining matrilineal kinship principle or connubial relations within the caste. In other words, they use matrimonial strategy to reproduce the symbolic capital. It means that agents with higher economic capital cannot have the similar religious status as well as social as a sayed has in the region. Moreover, they can also convert their symbolic capital into economic and other forms of capital. In the discussion on political and linguist capital in the section, researcher described how a religious (and ethnic) higher castes used their linguistic capital and other forms of capital to convert their symbolic capital into political capital and, then, reproduce it.

Several other indigenous castes e.g. rajpoot, chohan, jatt, lakk, etc. also preferred endogamy but they are not as much stringent as sayeds are. In fact, their prestige and privilege is not embedded in their caste only rather their capitals i.e. social, economic and cultural as well. Similarly, sectarian diversities is not associated with socio-ethnic mechanism only, it has several religious compositions based upon religious philosophies of transnational religious leaders. For example, Sunnis and Shias are not religiously indigenous because these sects emerged from Iranian and Arabian religious interpretations of Islamic scriptures. However, Sunnis and Shias can be indigenous regionally and can be sayed or rajpoot by caste. Similarly, the sayed caste is not indigenous rather immigrated by Arab and Turk invaders; however, indigenous caste holders have regional pride of nativeness. Additionally, being indigenous means being inhabitants of Punjab before partition that, by definition, makes sayeds indigenous

e.g., gillani, jillani and bukhari families are indigenous by caste (although, they are immigrants from Gillan, Jillan and Bukhara respectively). Such social diversity or differentiation reveals ethnic polarization.

The ethnic polarization is not confined to Biradari system only rather it extended to other components of ethnicity such as linguistic prejudices –the leading factor of regional marginalization in the province. The Sraiki (a dialect of South Punjab) movement for an autonomous province is a significant example against regional marginalization by politics of upper Punjab. Upper Punjab largely comprised Punjabis (people who speaks Punjabi language –a dialect of Punjab) and almost all influential political leaders in the region speaks Punjabi that is why political campaign in the region is largely based upon Biradari and language differences especially in rural settings of the province. Chaudhry and Ahmed (2014) reported that majority of the respondents were of the view that Biradari system has primary role in politics of Punjab. Furthermore, it has been proclaimed by several scholars (e.g., Rumi, 2009; Kamal, 2012) that biradari system is one of the influential factors of political behavior in the region. Haider (2014) claimed that biradari or caste system is the backbone of the province because people are connected to each other, apart from social relations at large, with respect to caste system. It reveals how ethnically polarized region is contributing in power distribution.

Moreover, biradari system generates social capital because the ethnic fabrication, ascribed network and intrinsic characteristic of endogamy in the system ultimately construct social network of a person. It has another aspect that can be revealed by examining the social structure of biradari system in the region, whereby, though individuals from the same biradari living at a distance but they are connected because the system makes itself evident by practicing its power as extended family. In other words, biradari system is identical to extended family system but geographically scattered. It provokes the feelings of same family, helping attitude within same biradari whether individuals have never met to each other personally, produces references to be used to achieve desired ends and provides easy opportunities of marriage but not generally and specifically love marriages.

It is important to describe that although biradari helps to accumulate social capital, yet it is unequally distributed inter and intra biradari system which can be dissected by examining the economic capital in the region. In relation with social and economic capital, there is another social system within biradari system i.e. *Jageeridari* or *Zamindari*, which revealed how unequal distribution of economic capital leads to the unequal distribution of social capital. It is

worth mentioning here that social capital is not merely the social network in biradari system in relation with Zamindari system rather it has its own circles as Mills (1956) explained power elites and their circles. In other words, the nature or circle of social capital is also unequally distributed because a person, who accumulated higher economic capital, most importantly if the capital is inherited, would have social capital of higher circle i.e. social network with highly influential people such as political leaders, bureaucrats, capitalists, army officials, etc. However, a person with lower economic capital may have higher social capital but it would be confined within the lower circle of social capital. The important point here with respect to social capital is that it is not merely associated with membership in a group rather the use of the membership as capital to accumulate power to affect social structure to achieve desired end. Therefore, individual in the lower circle of social capital and zamindar in the upper circle of social capital are distinguished by circles, not by volume of the capital. Secondly, the difference between lower and upper circles of social capital is not characterized by differentiation of circles only rather the density to influence other or to manipulate other with special reference to the circle membership to accumulate more (and exercise) power they accrued by transmuting circle membership into capital. Thus, individual i.e. Zamindar, in upper circle of social capital have accumulated more power than individual in the lower circle of social capital though he or she has extended to more volume of social network within lower circle.

It all connects with power accumulation and its distribution. As it has mentioned above that social capital is characterized by its quality of circles 'not volume' that has its support from economic capital most importantly its volume, both of these capitals matter the most in Punjab to accrete power. In relation to power, Punjab structure becomes more complex because its ethnic fabrications are complex network that glue the whole story. However, political relations in terms of social capital and political participations in terms of mobilization of social capital contribute to exercise and accumulate power simultaneously. Here, the power relations can not only be defined in terms of capitals rather the inherited family name is also involved that has almost the same importance but it has distinctiveness across ethnicity and capitals because family name would make a person capable to generate more social capital across biradari system. Within the lower circle of social capital, family name is not as much important as it is in upper circle but ethnicity or biradari almost have the same importance as well. In upper circle of social capital, economic capital reveals the possessor's ability of membership across biradari system. In other words, economic capital legitimatizes membership of an agent across biradari

being member of the inherited biradari. It reveals how system within system mechanized to oblige privileged class.

The overarching Biradari system, encapsulates zamindari within which system of social capital as higher and lower circles works. The social capital supported by economic capital in both circles and family name in upper circle importantly mechanized. A zamindar would have higher odds to accumulate higher social capital if zamindar is inherited. However, a new zamindar may also excel the same capital but his family name would not have the same prestige as inherited zamindar has. The difference can be expressed by the phrase that "having money doesn't mean to have a class" or "one may have money but no class". Mills (1956) expressed the difference between two families that may have similar economic capital but are different by status; to signify the difference he categories two types of families i.e. old elite and new elite. Similarly, an old zamindar would have higher social status i.e. privilege and prestige in relation with family honor connected to family name, whereas, a new zamindar may have similar volume of economic capital but he definitely requires generations to earn or build the family name because transmission of the capitals across generations would disseminate the family name across generations within lower and upper circles of social capital. In either family, it is important to maintain capitals across generations; otherwise, the family name will fade gradually. Moreover, the depletion of capitals would have no effect on caste or biradari rather on the status within biradari. It is highly important to delineate upon other important factors contributing in the process. Other than ethnicity and capitals, family and marriage patterns in relation with religion and culture have their prime importance in the process in structure of Punjab. The explanation of family structure and marriage in the province is as follows:

1.4.2 Family and marriage patterns

The stringent family structure in relation with patriarchy (see table 1.1) and biradari system preserved least effects of modernization in the country. Family structure is bound to its core values prescribed by religious and cultural forces. On the one hand, cultural forces affirm its positive role as an ideology whereas on the other hand religion legitimizes its functional aspects. Cultural forces work under biradari system and religious impositions are characterized by absolute power (where sectarian issues can be taken into account). Specifically, biradari and sect mechanized themselves as ideology that has its own consciousness – if Spencer is true – because these systems have been practicing within the systems without questions. In fact,

biradari inscribes culture and sect guides family structure, for example contraceptive practices are usually a form of taboo because religion i.e. Islam, considers it prohibited, whereas, male children are prioritized over female because cultural forces legitimized it, not religion.

Table 1.1

Trends of household headship by gender and marital status

Year	Male					Female				
	U	M	W	D	Punjab	U	M	W	D	Punjab
2006-07	2	88	3.5	0.3	–	0.1	4	3	0.2	–
2007-08	3	85	3.3	0.3	90	0.1	5	3	0.1	10
2008-09	2	87	3.3	0.4	92	0.1	4	2	0.2	8
2010-11	2	86	3.6	0.2	91	0.1	4	4	0.1	9
2011-12	2	83	3.8	0.2	88	0.1	6	4	0.1	12

Source: Adapted from Compendium on gender statistics of Pakistan 2014. Note: U = Unmarried, M = Married, W= Widow/er, D = Divorced.

Although, feminism and modernization influences across Europe yet Punjab seems impermeable to these theories and movements. However, in urban areas, family patterns are changing rapidly, for example, joint family system is a form of cultural blessing especially in rural areas but recent researches revealed that cultural spell is breaking gradually and the family system is taking shift form joint family system to nuclear family system (Farooq, Kayani & Ahmad, 2015). Sectarian practices also have least effect of the theories and movements as far as religious change concerns because it has absolute notions to be preached and practiced. Therefore, the major obstacles feminism and modernization encountered are religious beliefs and practices comparing with culture.

Although, religion has its higher priority, yet cultural values have been preferred in marital relations. As mentioned above that endogamy is characterized by caste system not religion that sustains cultural practices, but religion would also be taken into account at several stages in marriage activities. For example, how marriage customs would be performed have been guided by culture yet it is impossible to get married without performing religiously defined rituals because cultural forces appropriate families to be married whereas religion defines whether marriage is legitimate or not, even in the justice system. Honor killing is one of the significant examples of cultural and religious impositions because love marriage is a

kind of taboo, a murder of family honor, prestige and privilege. This is the stage where religion and culture support each other because both stood against marriage without family consent. Similarly, religion and culture legitimized patriarchy.

Insofar, religion and culture construct collective ideological positions of individuals that appropriate their elevated super-status through historical examples because if these forces would be restricted or its law would be violated, the customary/traditional reasoning will be given to prove their mechanism like 'it works as it is' and has been working throughout history as it presents today within the biradari system. However, violation of religious laws has government support thus state constitution and Pakistan Penal Codes (PPC) authorized official bodies to punish its citizen across sect and religion. Therefore, at several stages, religion has it prime role but cultural importance is not negligible.

Such role of culture and religion is described in previous section with respect to ethnicity, biradari, power relations etc. The prime objective of the discussion here is to reveal that how culture and religion are also major contributing factors in the structure construction and mechanism of its influence on the daily routine life of its members. From political relations to family structure and its functions, these two structural forces guide life of individuals.

Generally, family has its several functions to perform such as socialization of its members, to ensure the availability of subsistence, marriage, education, ascribed status, support for achieved status etc. but across classes, its nature and magnitude of such functions vary. Lower class families would focus on child raring to ensure their economic survival that male children are highly likely to ensure in patriarchic structure. Therefore, family balancing is not important. Furthermore, Islamic property law established greater proportion for property inheritance for male than female that ensures the economic superiority of male children. Although, it reveals that male family members are assigned greater responsibilities religiously and culturally, but it also signifies that a large portion of labor force i.e. female, has not been utilized for economic support.

Exchange marriages is traditional practice of some castes e.g. doggars. It generally practiced among low education or illiterate families. Females are subject to the family honor and its custodian because family and caste defined gender roles; therefore, endogamy secures purity of caste. It was reported that 54.1% of the total population of Punjab married with parents' first cousins and second cousins. Additionally, this trend is higher in rural areas (54%)

as compared to urban (37.8%) (Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey [PDHS], 2012-13, p. 66). However, it is also evident that increasing literacy rate and changing trends of socio-economic status are promoting exogamy. It was reported by PDHS (2006-07) that exogamy was 7.1 % in Punjab that increased up to 11.5% in 2012-13. Such marital relations are being established by taking into account the economic status of the families.

Table 1.2

Description of polygamy in the Pakistan, 2012-13

Variables		Number of wives		Number of men
		One	More than 2	
Age				
	15-19	100.0	0.0	36
	20-24	99.8	0.2	209
	25-29	96.4	1.9	516
	30-34	98.2	1.3	636
	35-39	95.0	4.4	579
	40-44	95.9	4.1	516
	45-49	93.1	6.8	580
Region				
	Punjab	95.1	4.1	1761
	Sindh	97.7	2.3	779
	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	98.0	2.0	345
	Balochistan	94.8	4.4	150
	ICT Islamabad	97.9	2.1	18
	Gilgit Baltistan	98.3	1.7	18
Education				
	No education	95.2	4.3	869
	Primary	94.3	3.9	652
	Middle	96.8	3.2	516
	Secondary	97.1	2.8	548
	Higher	98.0	1.9	487
Wealth				

Lowest	96.9	3.0	591
Second	96.6	3.4	557
Middle	96.0	4.0	549
Fourth	94.5	5.1	706
Highest	96.6	1.5	668
Total	96.1	3.4	3071

Source: Adapted from Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey 2012-13.

Another important role of religion and culture in the region is abomination of divorce or second marriage but it also accounted for by economic factors. Although, Islam allows polygamy –four wives at a time –yet lower- and middle-class economic conditions do not afford it. Moreover, cultural traditions demand several customary reasons to prove polygamy. As religion allows polygamy and culture demands its reasons, both of these also stood against divorce (see table 1.2). It is evident by the national surveys that only 0.6 % of the total female population were divorced, 0.5% were separated and 1.9% were widowed. Similarly, 0.2% of the total male population were divorced, 0.3% were separated and 0.5% were widowed (PDHS, 2012-13, p. 62). In fact, divorce without the consent of family or biradari would provoke family boycott of the cultural perpetrator. Such family and marital patterns are generally of the lower- and middle-class families. The upper class families such as zamindar are often exempted from such patterns because their family structure is economically oriented more than lower class families yet several characteristics are similar across classes if religion and cultural impositions are taken into account.

In upper class, male children indulge in family business (i.e. zamindar or industry), secure higher proportion of inherited property and marry in the family with similar status. Here, it is worth describing how upper class reproduces itself. First, exogamy is increasing generally in middle class. Upper classes either religious (e.g., Sayed), ethnic (e.g., khokhar) or economic (e.g., economic elite) strongly prefer endogamy. Interestingly, the religious, ethnic and economic upper class is same. Those who are religiously privileged are also economically affluent, most importantly sayed and makhdoom. It is explicit that these groups are largely (numerically) political figures of Punjab, even historically. Second, the privileged ethnic and religious classes are indulged in politics. Third, political, economic, social and cultural capital is used to reproduce the status they have.

These capitals serve in several ways. Upper circle's social capital serves to mobilize lower circle's social capital for their political interests. Inherited symbolic capital, like family name, aids social capital in upper circle by legitimatizing group membership. It also legitimatizes power, privilege and prestige over lower class within birdari system or ethnic group. The upper class families strategize these capitals to accumulate political capital.

During election campaign, upper class contestants use religion, ethnicity and language as a political tool to manipulate voting behavior of general population. Their linguistic capital –the art of speech (Bourdieu, 1990) – or use of elaborated codes (rich vocabulary and detail description, Bernstein, 1977) give them advantage to conceal their multiple interests and group membership. In fact, they hoax the reality of their multiple group membership and make the voters believe that they only belong to their group. Therefore, using their linguistic capital in relation with social, cultural and economic capital –which provide the base to linguistic capital –they accumulate political capital. Thus, the arbitrary power relation between upper and lower class seems natural through mediating role of linguistic capital.

Political capital legitimatized their power at broader spectrum (across birdari system) that they already have i.e. inherited. Interestingly, the acquisition of political power is their inherited right because their family is used to indulge in politics across generations. For example, Sharif family across three generations is in politics (economic elite and industrialists), gillani and makhdoom family across three and four generations (religiously privileged and economic elite, zamindar), and kher, noon, legari, khokhar etc. (ethnically privileged and economic elite, zamindar) across generations. More interestingly, by utilizing their linguist capital in relation with social, cultural and economic capital, they internalize their rights of politics in general population that they began to perceive as natural. Thus, their political power becomes natural power, not arbitrary, so does the power relation between classes. Such class relations, on the one hand, legitimatize their power through monopoly over political capital and, on the other hand, potentially contribute in perpetuation of their relative social positions across generations in the structure of social positions of Punjab. Thus, the privileged class not only reproduces the relative position of its members, but it simultaneously reproduces the cultural forces that legitimatize the positions.

1.4.3 Education, wealth and ethnicity

As far as education is concerned, it is a medium of upward mobility for lower and middle classes however; it is an element of esthetics in upper class especially among zamindar. Bourdieu claimed that education is a new strategy of class reproduction that ensures its generalizability among new elites (a term of Mills, 1952). For example, a CEO of a company would be unable to maintain his family status across generations due to changing trends of corporate sector if his offspring(s) would not be able to secure higher education of elite taste, demanded and appreciated in labor market.

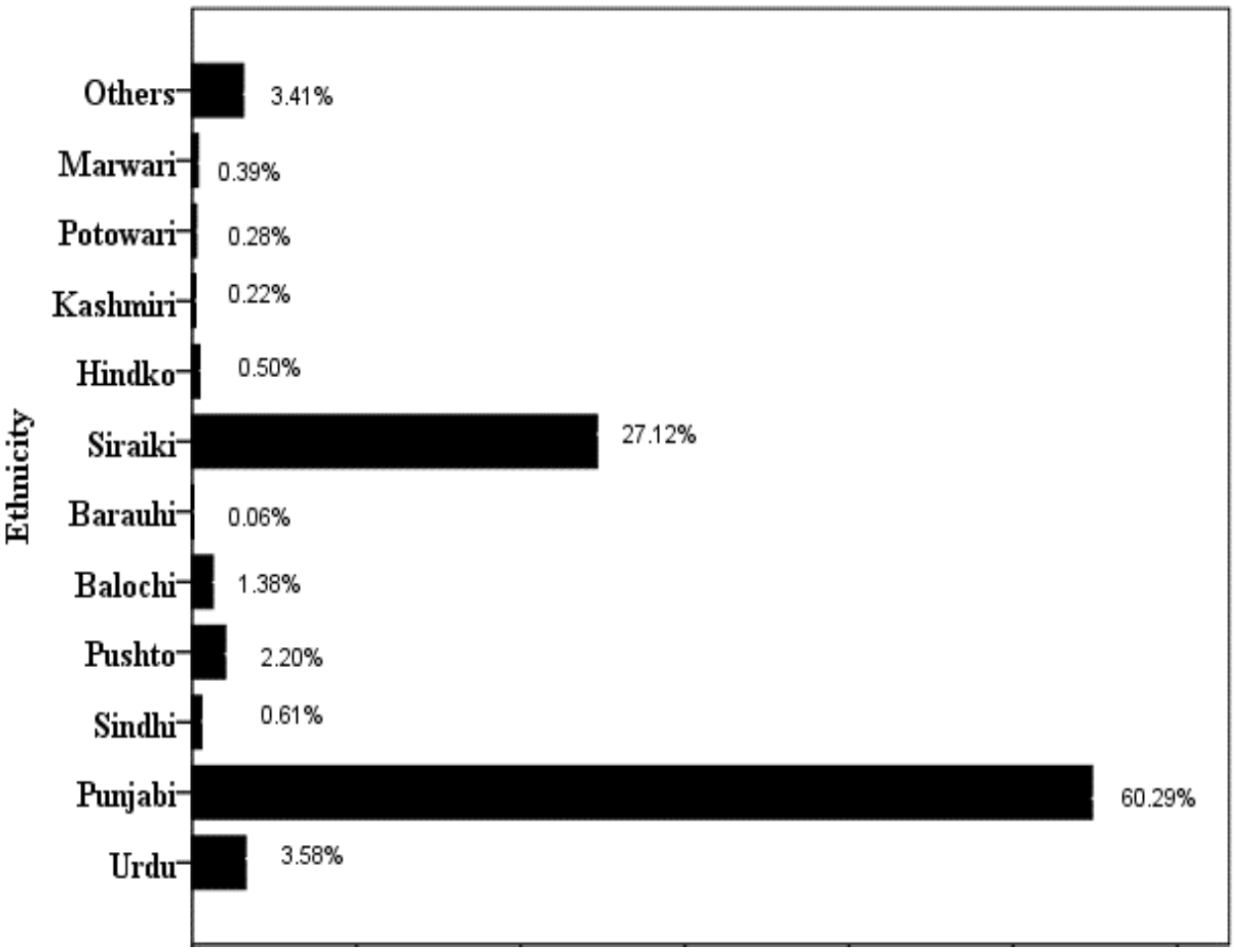

Figure 1.1. Percentage distribution of higher education by ethnicity in Punjab
(Source: author's analysis of Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey 2012-13)

However, zamindar has no need of such education to reproduce or maintain their status and privilege because the ownership of a land is major power residing force for a person to be a zamindar. It means that larger the ownership of land, big zamindar a person would be. Thus, as long as they have land, they are zamindar across generations. This class has least conflict on

territory within the circle i.e. zamindar circle, but on the expansion of political power. Mills named such class 'old elite families' whereas Weber do not have the same notion of distinction between old and new elite classes but the Stände (translated as status). He distinguished circles by their culture or lifestyle.

In Pakistan, old elite class means zamindar but, of course, it does not mean all zamindar. Zamindar also have categories based on the major element that defines them i.e.

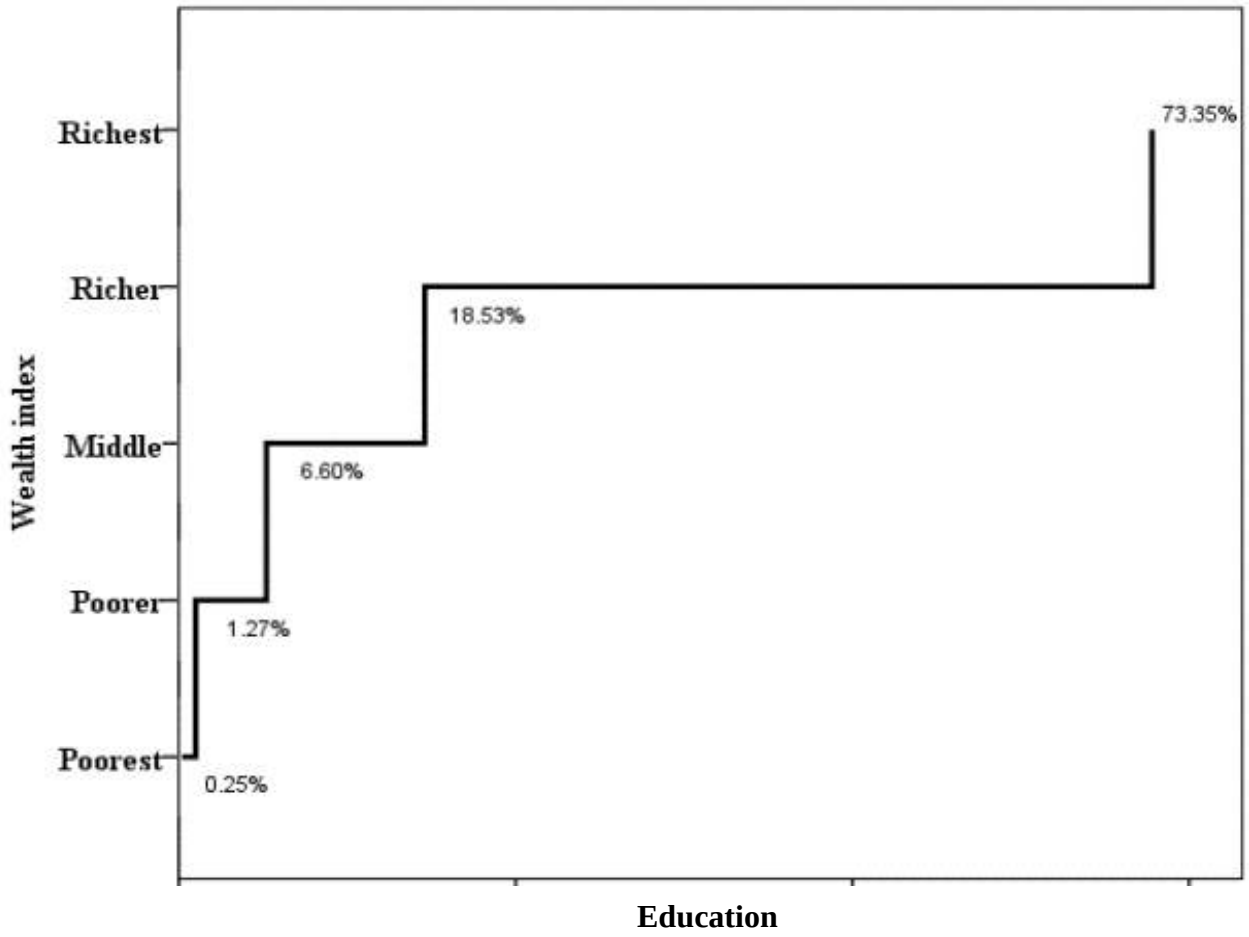

Figure 1.2. Percentage distribution of higher education by wealth index in Punjab
(Source: author's analysis of Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey, 2012-13)

land. The second important element of zamindari is living power of peasants because the land is useless without the use of labor power to convert the raw land into a pregnant land that would give birth to wealth. Zamindar uses several strategies for maximum utilization of the labor power e.g., during the emergence of capitalism they restricted peasant's mobility and migration due to the pull factors of newly born industries and to perpetuate legitimate slavery.

The section ‘ethnic polarization’ revealed that linguistic polarization in Punjab especially in Southern Punjab surged political, social, educational even cultural competition between them. As far as education is concerned, figure 1.1 shows that educational proportion of Punjabi are two times higher than Saraiki. Similarly, figure 1.2 shows a broader picture of educational division. The figure illustrates that 73% of richest have acquired higher education whereas poor and poorest have lowest percentage.

It must be noted that this division not solely based upon zamindar or emerging new classes i.e. old and new elites, rather the general population of Punjab. One major reason to mention the data in ethnic and wealth index division is the unavailability of most suitable numerical data of the region. However, the presented data revealed that wealth index and ethnicity is related with class structure because the wealth is one of the indicators of social class. Similarly, in the context of Punjab ethnicity plays major role to determine class membership inherently because it encapsulates privilege and prestige –another indicator associated with accumulated power within a class.

Secondly, considering the sensitivity of reproduction thesis meticulously that argued education process a novel strategy of class reproduction, research also described its relationship with ethnicity (see figure 1.1). The relationship among occupation, wealth index and education are examined in the following sections.

1.4.4 Occupation, education and wealth

Previous researches showed that occupation is related to wealth (Chung, Domino, Stearns & Popkin, 2009). Some theorists are of the view that occupational status represents the overall socioeconomic status as well as the class of individuals (e.g. Parkin, 1979). Moreover, several researches (e.g. Slocum, 2017) described that education is associated with occupation. These variables are associated in the way that education contributes in job procurement that returns the investment on education. However, in class theory, access to high quality education is subject to the class itself.

In the structure of Pakistan, occupation, education and class are also associated (see figure 1.3 and 1.4, N = 13501). In the figures, wealth index used as proxy to represent class. Figure 1.3 showed association among class, education and occupation in Pakistan. The figure

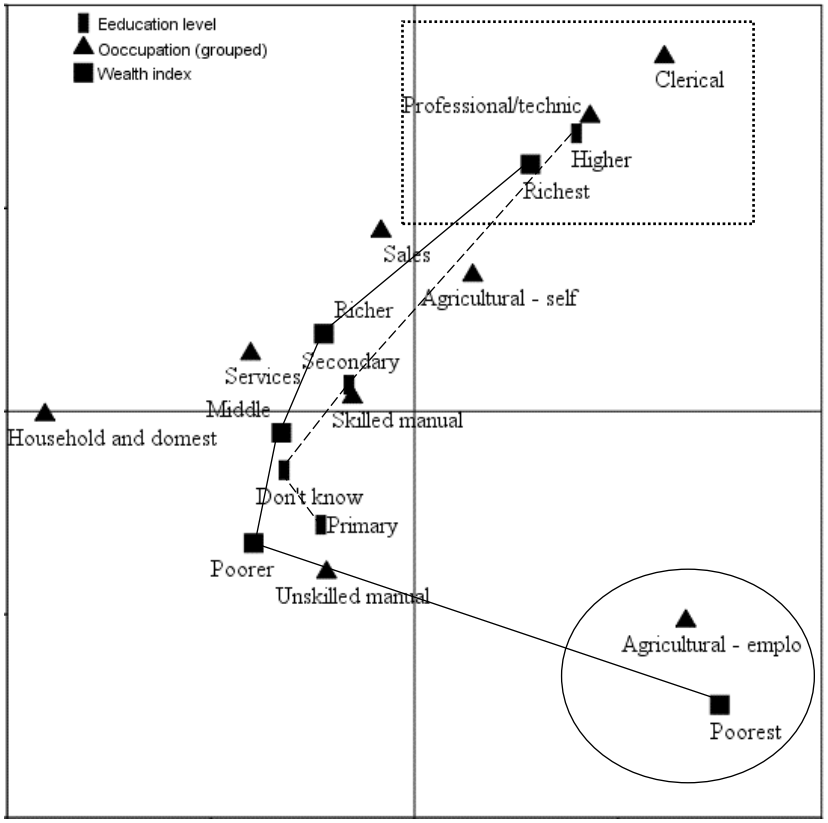

Figure 1.3. Multiple Correspondence Analysis of social positions, education and wealth index in Pakistan. Note: Dimension 1: Inertia = 0.607, Eigenvalue = 1.82, α = 0.677; Dimension 2: Inertia = 0.485, Eigenvalue = 1.456, α = 0.470. Source: author's analysis of Pakistan Demography and Health Survey 2012-13.

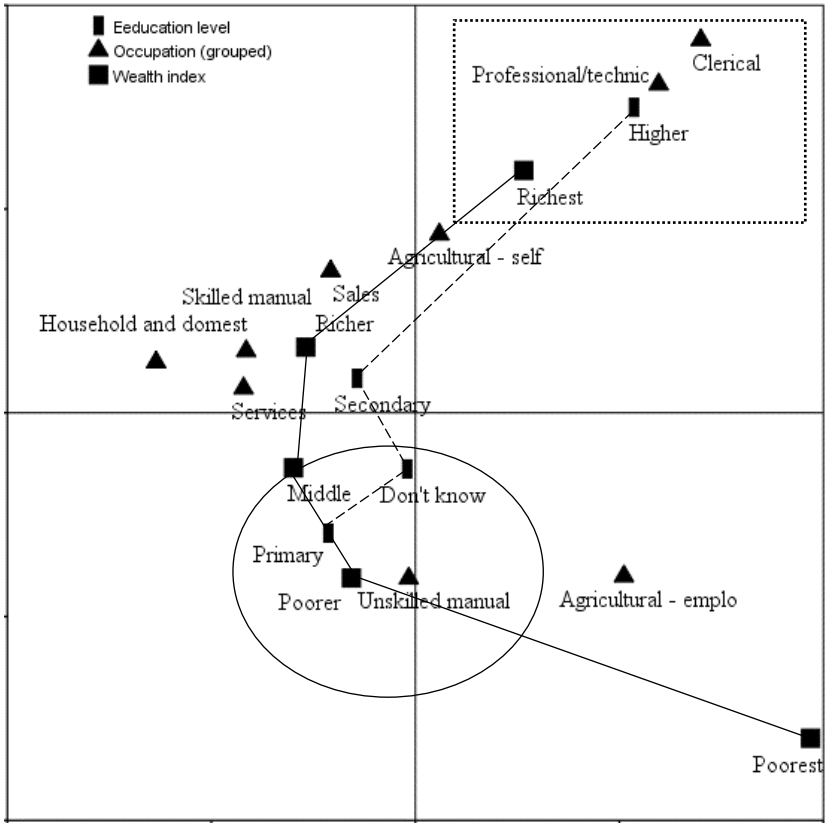

Figure 1.4. Multiple Correspondence Analysis of social positions, education and wealth index in Punjab. Note: Dimension 1: Inertia = 0.634, Eigenvalue = 1.9, α = 0.711; Dimension 2: Inertia = 0.481, Eigenvalue = 1.443, α = 0.461. Source: author's analysis of Pakistan Demography and Health Survey 2012-13.

showed that the structure of Pakistan is chiastic, whereby, the economic and cultural resources are unequally distributed. The figure also showed that professionals are associated with high education and richest wealth group whereas agricultural employees are poorest in the country with no cultural resources. Similarly, the structure of Punjab also showed difference of economic and cultural resources across occupational statuses (see figure 1.4).

Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (2013-14) reported that 45.44% of Punjab population is associated with agriculture, forestry and fishing. It is the highest percentage among all occupational groups in the province. Moreover, manufacturing sector (16%) is at the second and wholesale and retail trade (13.78%) is at third priority. The survey also showed that 5.02% of the civilian labor force is postgraduate or PhD whereas 19.7% are illiterate. Male civilian labor force with postgraduate or PhD (2.56%) is higher than female (0.62) in Pakistan. Similarly, 1.96% of male civilian labor force has postgraduate or PhD, whereas, only 0.76% of female civilian labor force has the same educational status.

Household Integrated Economic Survey (HIES) 2015-16 found that 6.02% of employed persons have above intermediate education in Punjab. The survey also reported that individuals working in 'activities of extraterritorial organization and bodies' have highest average income per month (125363.42 PKR), whereas, agriculture, forestry and fishing industry has lowest average per month income (6351.57 PKR) in the province. By occupation, armed forces have highest per month average income (49031.23 PKR), whereas, skilled agricultural, fishery worker and elementary occupations have lowest per month average income (almost 7 thousand). In the province, 53.7% of the average per household expenditures consumed on education.

Conclusively, the structure of Punjab is chiastic wherein cultural and economic resources are unequally distributed among social positions. However, variables used to construct the space of positions of Pakistan and Punjab (see figure 1.3 and 1.4) are not exhaustively representing the cultural and economic capital. In fact, education is only representing institutionalized cultural capital, and wealth index was taken as proxy of class. However, it provides basic understanding, at least to assume, that the social structure of social space of positions is chiastic and the higher volume of capitals are associated with social positions which are presumably represents higher economic status. The present study considered these hypotheses in the study and evaluated with more refined and exhaustive measurements. Moreover, ethnic polarization, culture, religion and systems e.g. biradari and

zamindari, are interrelated in a way in Punjab that they tend to facilitate agents from privileged family background. The agents take advantage of the structure and reproduce arbitrary power relations by using inherited and accumulated capitals.

1.5 Purpose and significance of the study

Plethora of researches used economic capital or socioeconomic status to identify class or class structure that further is used for stratification arguments. Such empirical explorations of stratification were reduced to economic order by using Marxian epistemology, whereas, social circles, life chances and class situations or more precisely conditions of existence are also stemmed from other species of capital. The sociological theories that did not reduce stratification to economic domain only are Weberian social closure, Stände and stratification; Bourdieusian social and cultural reproduction; and Mills' power elite. Other theorists can also be included such Karabel (2005).

Bourdieusian epistemological grounds, partly assumed from Weberian, Marxian, Durkheimiam theoretical axioms, have rarely been incorporated in empirical researches in Pakistan to explore social space of positions, distinction in practices and reproduction of classes that assume homology of practices, sense of agent's place in a field, accumulation, consumption and conversion of species of capitals, etc. These aspects particularly accumulation and conversion of forms of capital are subject to the agents' struggle over these capitals. The used these epistemological grounds and theoretical propositions which are not confined to economic order only in the study. The study aims to assess major propositions of reproduction theory in Pakistan, which have scarcely been taken into account in the country as identified in the previous sections, whereby, the body of knowledge regarding the theory is, simultaneously, evaluated and enhanced.

Although bulk of researches have been conducted on Bourdieusian theory of reproduction, yet they partly dealt with the theory such as some researches assessed mediating role of habitus and cultural capital in reproduction and others focused on relationship with cultural capital and educational outcome. Other researches constructed social space of positions and a few attempted to explore changing tastes across generations. However, the concepts of reproduction theory are integrated due to its relational logic that should be dealt simultaneously in order to reveal how these concepts are interconnected and whether the variables, he proposed, are highly important to reproduce unequal distribution of resources. Therefore, the

present study used Bourdieu's multidimensional and social space approach and attempted to construct a model which dealt with major propositions of reproduction theory simultaneously. In this regard, the model has triptych level: construction of social space, assessment of reproduction and evaluation of mediation model(s) through Multiple Correspondence Analysis, Log Linear Model and Structure Equation Model, respectively (for detail see chapter 2).

The study incorporated following points in the existing body of knowledge:

a. Social space of positions in the context of Southern Punjab.
b. Class reproduction incorporating trajectory of species of capitals
c. Attempted to objectify and evaluate the subjective tool i.e. habitus, as suggested in *Quantifying theory: Pierre Bourdieu* (2009) and did by Dumais (2002) and Gaddis (2013).
d. Introduced improved equation of practice and isomorphic circuit of cultural capital in the field of education.
e. Built a model of class reproduction that incorporated major propositions of the theory. Moreover, the model was also evaluated by gender, education and family system.
f. Assessed previous habitus mediation models and improved the model through statistical analysis.

1.6 Objectives of the study

1. To construct the social space of positions.
    a. To study the volume, composition and trajectory of capitals in the space
    b. To explore the structure of the social space of positions
    c. To find the conditions of existence and distance from necessity of agents
    d. To investigate homology of practices in relation with social positions of agents
2. To introduce class reproduction model that incorporates major propositions of reproduction theory.
    a. To study class and capitals reproduction
    b. To explore class perpetuation
    c. To investigate interdependency of capitals i.e. economic, cultural and social
3. To assess the validity of mediation models of class reproduction.
    a. To appraise whether habitus mediates cultural capital and education
    b. To evaluate whether cultural capital mediates parental resources and education

1.7 Hypotheses of the study

1. Reproduction of class and capitals
    1.1. Class of the respondents depends on class of fathers
    1.2. Capitals of the respondents depends on class of fathers
    1.3. Class of the male respondents depends on class of fathers
    1.4. Class of the female respondents depends on class of fathers
    1.5. In intact family system, class of the respondents depends on class of fathers
2. Perpetuation of inherited class by next generation
    2.1. Capitals of the respondents are associated with their classes
    2.2. Capitals of the male respondents are associated with their classes
    2.3. Capitals of the female respondents are associated with their classes
    2.4. In intact family system, class of respondents is associated with class of their fathers.
3. Conversion of capitals
    3.1. Cultural capital is associated with economic capital
    3.2. Social capital is associated with economic capital
    3.3. Cultural capital is associated with social capital
4. Mediation hypotheses: habitus and cultural capital
    4.1. Habitus mediates capitals of parents and capitals of the respondents
    4.2. Cultural capital mediates cultural capital of the parents and education of the respondents

1.8 Conclusion

Researcher introduced significance, criticism and empirical solutions of reproduction theory with specific focus on Bourdieusian reproduction theory through a claim that his theory is broader enough to cover almost all aspects of other reproduction theories (in education field) such as correspondence principle of Bowels and Ginitis, social reproduction and codes of Bernstein and economic reproduction of Althusser.

Despite the fact that his theory has been criticized on structure-agency problematic e.g. critic of Giroux, yet it has been widely evaluated and evidenced. However, researcher identified important gaps in empirical domain, especially in Pakistan, such as previous studies did not take into account the relational logic, mediation models were scarcely focused and social space

of positions and lifestyle did not evaluate as it supposed to be. Furthermore, the objectives and hypotheses of the study were designed keeping in view the gaps in the previous body of knowledge.

The chapter also explained structure of the Punjab on the grounds of capitals, their use and other significant attributes of the region so that the reader can easily comprehend the region where the study is conducted.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

Introduction of chapter

Prior to the introduction of triptych model of class reproduction, which is mainly based upon Bourdieu's theory of reproduction, it is important to describe that his work partly shares similar properties with class theorists of sociology, education and economics yet has a significant distinction. Such comparative discussion, on the one hand, would not confuse the ideas of Bourdieu with other theorists and, on the other hand, would explicit the axiomatic grounds of triptych model of reproduction.

The chapter begins with brief discussion on Bourdieu's similarities with other theorists e.g. Weber, and theory of stratification. Further, building blocks of Bourdieusian theory e.g. social space, homology of practices, class struggle etc. are discussed in detail. Class and capitals are comparatively described that signified the need of habitus in structure-agency integration. Education is given exclusive importance, wherein, role of cultural capital and habitus is discussed in detail. Moreover, family and marriage are discussed exclusively. The second last section of the chapter dealt with theory of reproduction as a whole in relation to its different strategies of reproduction. Lastly, the chapter introduced triptych model of reproduction.

This chapter can be divided into four sections. Section 1 deals with comparative accounts of Bourdieu and other theorists such as Marx and Weber in relation with class and economic capital; and Coleman and Putnam in relation with social capital. It also described Bourdieu's theory of reproduction and his other important concepts such as field, social space, habitus, cultural capital etc. Section 2 introduced the role of family and marriage in reproduction theory. Section 3 discussed education and reproduction. While section 4 introduced triptych model of class reproduction.

2.1 Durkheim, Weber and Bourdieu

Bourdieu's theoretical terrain is partly assimilated with Durkheim, Weber and Marx because the scrutinized analyzation of one's organized narratives should not be tapered enough to reduce its theoretical underpinnings into one's pre-proposed framework of social world

(Wacquant, 2001). Bourdieu (1992) claimed that an attempt to confine an author as Marxist or Weberian, tells nothing about the author.

Some scholars argued that Bourdieu is not Marxist (e.g., Desan, 2013) but it does not reflect that his sui-generis analytical framework is out of classical theories' inspiration. Marxist called him Durkheimiam (Brubaker, 1985, p. 747) due to his integrative cultural postulates. However, his theoretical framework owes much to Weber than any other theorist (Brubaker, 1985, p. 747). Bourdieu and Durkheim studied French educational system and argued 'reasons' as basis of educational system and sociological study of education. They explained class inequality in terms of industrial or modern society that for Durkheim produced complex division of labor in relation with organic solidarity (Durkheim, [1984] 2013) and for Bourdieu, it comprised multidimensional space and multiple interrelated fields pertaining their own rules and structures that form the 'rules of the game'. Moreover, both acknowledged that behavior is a product of these conditions of existence as well as Marx (1904, p. 11) such as formation of collective consciousness and habitus is highly corresponded to the conditions, individuals are living in (Reed-Danahay, 2005, p. 42). In a nutshell, Bourdieu revived Durkheimiam effort to construct sociological theory of knowledge but critically nuanced to collective consciousness being married to Marxian class analysis.

Although, Bourdieu specifically attained Durkheim's integrative functions of culture, most of his work on power analysis seems advanced form of Weberian conceptual models in the domain. Weber developed, initially, symbolic objectification associated with class status e.g., lifestyle and honor. Bourdieu systematized and advanced the symbolic appearance of status by constructing an organized, albeit extensively complicated, theory of economy of symbolic goods, symbolic power and consumption of symbolic capital. However, in analysis of symbolic power, he did not exclude material conception of power such as economic capital rather he introduced new forms of capital in association with symbolic capital. Furthermore, acknowledging Weber's logical arguments such as 'theodicy' in religion, he described reproduction of dominant class and its privileges in educational system with a, somewhat figurative, explanation of what educational system bestows to dominant class is analogous to what Weber claims of theodicy of their privileges (Bourdieu, 1977a, p. 188).

Conclusively, as DiMaggio put in, Bourdieu's attempt to develop a theory of economy of practices is, actually, a marriage between Marx and Durkheim but, additionally, Weber was

most influential on his writing. Therefore, Weberian theory of stratification is important to understand Bourdieusian theory of reproduction.

2.2 Stratification, mobility and reproduction: Weber, Mills and Bourdieu

The discussion in this section focused on social practices, groups and education in relation with social mobility within stratified society to reveal how reproduction exists if competitive societies allow its members especially of lower and middle class to move in upper class, and why upper class individuals are highly less likely to deplete their socioeconomic positions?

Aspiration of vertical mobility in lower and middle class family members has majorly *bi*dimensional explanation. The first one introduced structural effects on cognition that at its priority construct passive actors but such compliance to structure is bounded to a particular social field. Such argument is the core of structural functional theory specifically Davis and Moore hypothesis. It reveals that stratification is inevitable because it is universal, and it fulfills the necessities of individuals in accordance with their positions. Davis and Moore (1945) are significant scholars of the argument. It can be extracted from their thesis that though actors struggle to change their socioeconomic status, yet stratification exists because not all members of a society can acquire same or similar status. In terms of mobility, closed and open society provides lesser and greater chances, respectively, to change status of its members. Davis and Moore claimed that in open and close society – they called it competitive and non-competitive societies (p. 242) – individuals would be trained according to their talent and would be motivated to acquire most suitable positions for them. However, the motivation is requisite in either society. This argument raised several questions like what talents or skills are appropriate for a particular position? Is stratification functional? Theoretically, is the theory itself functional?

The critique of the thesis not just raised such questions but also explained why the argument of functional stratification is overestimated and violated philosophical grounds of logic. The critique of the thesis is grounded in conflict theory's (the second dimension) assumptions and propositions in relation to philosophical reasoning. The theory, adapted majorly from the work of Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels, is generally contrary to Structure Functionalism specifically to Davis and Moore thesis keeping in view the topic under discussion. Tumin (1953) claimed that functional aspect of stratification is utopian because it

assumes ‘functions’ beyond reality, therefore, Davis and Moore thesis is teleological fallacy. Furthermore, their thesis neglected individuals’ aspiration to alter status rather imposed structure as defining force of one’s position in society.

Initially, in classical sociological theory one of the most admired answer lies in the concept of social closure and stratification introduced by Max Weber ([1946] 2010). His theory of stratification and closure is assented and discussed by several researchers (e.g., Parkin, 1979). According to the theory, social closure refers to the process of constructing circle(s) in order to monopolize scarce resources for interests of the members of the circle(s) that in turn form stratification and restrict others to enter into the circle(s) (Mackert, 2012). The monopoly of the resources signifies demarcations in social order as well as among economic positions within a society but this monopoly is not the only exhaustive explanation of social closure it also involves the role of class, Stände [plural of Ständ in German] and political affiliation (Weber, [1946] 2010).

Although, Weber did not use social closure, in strict sense, to explain stratification (Barbalet, 1982, p. 485) yet his analysis retains several similarities to delineate the stratification and mobility restrictions. Stratification is social or economic order in Weberian theory; thereby the power distributes in society. Power is one’s or a community’s ability to enforce his/its will even when restriction exists (Weber, [1946] 2010, p. 137). However, power is not confined to economic sphere only (or economy only does not constitute power) rather symbolic or non-economic preferences and practices also entail it e.g., honor and political affiliation. Such non-economic practices are related with a typical concept i.e. Stände. Stände are characterized by amorphous conditions but for sure impose a typical i.e., exclusive, life style marked as honor, whereby, it represents a symbolic cohesion, exclusiveness and distance from others –in Bourdieusian sense, homology of practices and distance from necessity– thus construct a group with similar cultural characteristics, which is conditioned with economic status. Therefore, Ständ and class although different from each other yet share economic aspects. Owing to the exclusiveness of Ständ, it also practices monopolization of its characteristics. Here, social closure and stratification by Ständ reveals similar and closely related mechanism to perpetuate privilege and prestige of individuals. Weber ([1946] 2010) argued, “…as a result of the stabilization of the economic distribution of power, the Ständ-related honor finally achieves stability itself” (p. 144).

He clarified that distribution of economic goods and services and their use reflect economic order. Classes emerge in this order. However, the Stände originates in social order that represents the principle of consumption of goods and services i.e., exclusive lifestyle. Therefore, the stratification of classes and Stände accounted for by goods and services and consumption of goods and services, respectively. In this sense, classes and Stände sometimes overlap (p. 148) because the dynamic of economic means threatens Ständ Stratification. However, it is explicit in his assertions that the monopolization of resources is one of the major strategies to stabilize stratification e.g., the monopolization of daughters for connubial interests to get them married within the same Stände, thus it imposes strict endogamy. Here, family interest, restriction of lifestyle and assentation of haggling specifically in market is what reflect strategies to stabilize Ständ(e). Hence, the stratification by Stände is tended to be persistent which is possible through the strategy of monopolization of resources i.e. material and non-material, which is a vital characteristic of social closure.

In a nutshell, Weberian conception of stratification is the distribution of power within social and economic order. The process of social closure that involves the monopolization of resources can ensure the stabilization of acquired power. Thus, the monopoly is the central strategy to reproduce stratification because it reproduces power within the same class and restricts out-group members to enter into the class. Privileged Ständ as Weber argued that Ständ impose restriction of endogamy and lifestyle, whereas, class abstains economic depletion because plutocracy provokes class struggle (Weber, [1946] 2010). Monopoly ensures functionality of these restrictions thereby stratification reproduces, so does the classes. Thus, it can be inferred that monopoly over resources becomes an obstacle for vertical mobility of out-group members. Weber argued,

> "…using the market as the mode of distribution *excludes* the propertyless from effectively competing for highly valued goods with the propertied…The privileged Stände groups only accept their descendants who were raised [from birth] in the conventions of their Stände group, and who never compromised their honor by participating in economic labor" (p. 139 – 147).

As social closure reveals a mechanism of stability of privilege and prestige within upper class in Weberian literature, social mobility in relation with education has also been explained in his analysis while scrutinizing characteristics of modern society. Rationalization being core of the modern society drives rational actions of its members. Further, access to formal

education and achievement of academic credentials are one of the rational actions prescribed by rationalization (Stevens, 2008). The relation of mobility and education was expressed when he elaborated schools as one of the corporations of modern society characterized by bureaucracy. He also explained that the accumulation of status is identical to upward mobility within bureaucracy. Therefore, schools are characterized by bureaucratic administrations.

They are also one of the major aspects of social statuses and cultural representations that contribute to excel status of individuals. His intellectual analysis of education and mobility influenced educational researchers to the extent that Jurdak (2006) introduced his educational analysis as one of the perspectives in sociology. Furthermore, Parkin (1979) introduced a refined theory of social closure that theoretically built upon Weberian discourse. He introduced two guises of social closure: exclusionary and usurpationary social closure. The exclusionary social closure is downward exercise of power by privileged groups while excluding other individuals from the power circle that have created through the process of subordination. The usurpationary social closure is upward exercise of power by proletariat to take the share in resources monopolized by the capitalists (p. 45). The usurpationary closure resulted from exclusionary closure and the downward and upward exercise of power defines dialectical nature of his theory. Although, his theory was inspired by Weber and Marx but his class analysis, contrary to structural class analyses, defined capitalists and proletariats by the process of and membership in, closure. Arguably, his theory extendedly explains why upward mobility is crucial in a society comprised closures and how privileged class restricts non-privileged to enter into their circles.

Taking Weber's and Parkin's analysis of closure, the enunciation of Stände in social order and social mobility in relation with educational system represents how cultural consumption and aspiration of status accumulation are rational actions. However, the stability of the acquired status especially elite class status is imperative aspiration in bureaucratic society that would only be possible through social closure thereby stratification i.e. classes and inequality, reproduced.

Although, Weber, Parkin and Murphy explained power and strategies of social closure yet a question remains, which classes? In other words, the use of term upper class, elite and privileged do not substantiate the constructs that is why Murphy (1988) labelled Weberian social closure theory a conceptual framework. Therefore, to arrive at the conclusion via a concrete empirical analysis that military, politician, corporate, multinational companies' CEOs

etc. are the groups that strategize exclusionary and usurpationary closure would evident social theory of stratification. Such substantive vacuum was filled by C. Wright Mills and other sociological theorists e.g., Jerom Karabel, in their respective domains. The analysis of Mills (1956) and Karabel (2005) would make the problem under discussion more explicit that what strategies a particular group apply to secure the monopoly over resources and power in advance society and who the particular groups are. Most importantly, what is the role of family and education in such social closure and stratification?

Mills (1956) in his widely acknowledged and appreciated book *The Power Elite* (1956) argued that in industrial society, power elite holds the power. However, unlike Weber, he claimed that power elite means circles of politics, military and economic or "…the power elite is composed of political, economic and military men" (p. 276) whose decisions effects the whole nations or, in other words, the decision of national events is the command of power elites (p. 18). Furthermore, he ascertained that these elites have same social origin, education, club membership and similar town. They frequently interact to each other informally and formally to keep the social relationship (p. 30) as their essential cultural practice. For example, describing military he showed that how they are internally (psychologically) and externally (behaviorally) similar. Externally, they have similar expressions: steady eyes, emotionless face, erect shoulders, etc. Internally, they have similar thinking pattern called "military mind" (p. 195). This internal and external homogeneity is the product of their training, experiences and friendship.

Like Weber, he assented that they also have connubial relationships to keep power, privilege, prestige and wealth within the defined circles (p. 31) but it does not mean, Mills cautioned, that power rests upon their personal relationships (p. 285) because they may have similar positions but their decisive power or psychology of decision could vary (p. 280). He also cautioned that elite circles are not aristocracy rather they entered into the circles from the same origin, arguably from the higher economic or status reserved proportions (upper third) of the society whose family possess higher occupational and educational status (p. 270-80).

Mills (1956) explained four stages of power elite (who were in fifth stage in his life). He ascertained that from early and mid-nineteenth century, there were men of dignity and prestige who made up the local societies –old upper-class families, men of politics and education. From Jefferson to Lincoln, the influence of few families that hold power, begun to fade. The elites' coalitional process was loosely commenced but the military was subordinated

to politician who can easy be bought up (p. 269-70). The 1866 congressional election and the Fourteenth amendment of 1866 gave rise to the economic supremacy of corporates. In the era, military was now subordinated to the corporate elites and politician were, somehow, economically related to the corporates. It has been identified in history as golden era of ruling class (p. 271) where military was off the history, political power was scattered, and economic supremacy was at its zenith (p. 272).

With the New Deal, lower class issues appeared to be dealt politically, economically and socially that gave beclouded pictured of reform movement. The economic and political contest were on run and in fact the corporate was supplemented by political power because they were chiefly holding the prime decisive role in era. The antagonism of politics and economy was mediated by The New Deal. However, after the World War II, the power structure i.e. The Higher Circles began to prevail rapidly where dynamics of power elite shaped (p. 274).

Exploring and explaining the historical facts of the emergence and consolidation of power elite through four historical stages and ascending three major clues of the power structure, capitalism emerged as military capitalism, economy shaped as military economy and the reality is the military defined reality in the fifth stage. This occurred due to the transmutability of corporate interests from domestic issues to war having significant membership in political democracy that relegated professional politicians' power. Thus, military rose as one of the power practitioners at large (p. 274-76).

In his analysis, it is quite clear that he was not focusing upon mere mobility or generally mobility of lower and middle class rather 'power mobility' of upper class. This power mobility is conscious among only class-consciousness of power elite who generates affinity for each other. Most importantly, the class-consciousness in action is the acceptance of only those who have been accepted by the other members of the circle. Additionally, this class consciousness in relation with its indicators restricted rest of the world to be one of its members until unless, at least, similar lifestyles, power, status etc. would not be adapted. It does not mean that the circles are closed clichés rather it reveals that only upper class possesses what the class is characterized by because from family socialization to education and career to power mobility the class exercises similar life style or throughout their life they have been given similar training –the expensive one – that lower and middle class does not afford. Thus, it legitimatizes

their power monopoly that restricts lower and middle class people, legitimately, to enter into their circles. But how such closure works in education?

The educational prestige as a symbol of status and prestigious education as process of acquiring the status is discussed by Karabel (2005) in his most famous book: *The Chosen: The hidden history of admission and exclusion at Harvard, Yale and Princeton*. He explained "character" as one of the major criteria of merit to be enrolled into the Big Three. He refers the character to the living style of Anglo-Saxon elite class. The concept of character is quite similar to what Weber's Stände are characterized by. However, it is identical to Bourdieu's cultural capital. Karabel (2005) revealed that passed out students from these universities are employed in governance, policymaking and big economic companies. In fact, these passed out students are actually the government (e.g., Franklin D. Roosevelt, John Kennedy, G. W. Bush and Barack Obama), policy makers (Henry Kissinger, Ben Bernanke and John Roberts) and head of big companies (e.g., Sheryl Sandberg and Lloyd Blankfein). The list is not confined to these three blocks; it is even extended to Hollywood actors, news editors, sports men and many more.

Although, these theorists elaborated the mobility restriction, yet it was confined to the strict classification of society that has been the question of various scholars. Bourdieu (1984) also dealt with the questions but he is against the strict boundaries that echo his multi-dimensional conception of society as for that he classified society, particularly in terms of class, within three-dimensional axis. He was of the view that such bifurcation can be viewed by total volume, composition and trajectory of the capitals. Therefore, third dimension closely deals with mobility question.

In his view, the structure of occupational division of labor should also be viewed by the change in volume and composition of capitals over time that would reveal what and how class within the structure or social space is going to reproduce itself. For example, he found through the data (collected during 1960 and 1970) that professional is highly likely to reproduce the fraction in the same class (Weininger, 2005, p. 89). However, such change analysis of fractions also explained mobility or the conversion of capitals –as he put in. In such analysis, the study would not be restricted to the cross-sectional studies of inter and intra generational mobility rather it would be able to explain how and why such mobility occurs in terms of capital. Here the researcher very briefly introduced his point of view on mobility. The following sections discussed his theory and concepts in detail. As far as mobility concerns, his point of view is explicit in terms of three-dimensional approach of class analysis. For him, mobility question is

highly associated with class analysis rather than mobility itself because the conditions of existence cannot be evaded to deal with class analysis or mobility specifically.

Contrary to other theorist e.g., Mills, his postulates, framework and analysis also encompasses differentiation of status and class yet his concept (conditions of existence) is highly likely in favor of mobility that he empirically explored in the social space through the change in volume and composition of capitals across time or generations.

2.3 Class: Marx, Weber and Bourdieu

Class in Marxist tradition has been a much controversial and debated concept because of Marx's unorganized discussion of the term (Gandy, 2012, p. 96). He used the term in various forms e.g., as a noun and adjective. The adjective form of the term is more specified and grounded in the given milieu e.g., class relation, class structure, class conflict and class consciousness (Wright, 2002, p. 11). Generally, in his project of capitalism, society comprised two classes: bourgeoisie and proletariat. However, in *Capital Vol. III* ([1959] 1999), he introduces landowner as a third big class (p. 610). It arises several questions such as where do peasants stand in class structure; small landowners would be peasant or landowner; and worker of a landowner to cultivate the land (e.g., tenant) would be in proletariat class? Interestingly, small landed property, presumably comprising peasants and small landowners, produces class of barbarians (p. 567), another name for two distinctive classes. Almost same is the case with petty bourgeoisie who known to be an employer of few workers e.g., a shopkeeper or a small businessman (Ollman, 1968).

It is hard to demarcate a bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie on theoretical bases, however, at its operation dimension, Wright and Perrone (1977) defines petty bourgeoisie who owns means of production, controls labor power and sales his/her own labor power (p. 34) but does not purchase labor power. Wright and Perrone's operationalization of petty bourgeoisie was contrary to Ollman's theoretical definition. It also introduced a profound understanding of Marx's class analysis at theoretical and operational dimensions. It is also worth noticing that at what economic stage, a petty bourgeoisie could be a capitalist? In other words, how much a petty bourgeoisie has to extend the business to be a capitalist? Although Marx had extensively described the mechanism of class structure, the transition of class and particularly the demarcation between classes is poorly explained. For example, in *Communist Manifesto* ([1848] 1967) he argued that petty bourgeoisie i.e. a class "fluctuating between proletariat and

bourgeoisie", will extinct due to the rapidly extended large industries or capitalist (p.15) without explaining the components or indicators of such transitional end.

Up to economic categorization of individuals, his work of class is not contradictory but in *The Class Struggle in France* ([1850] 2001) he categorized various professionals, usually called intelligentsia or as he put in 'so-called men of talent' such as lawyers, doctors, journalist, priests and even petty bourgeoisie as ideological representatives of bourgeoisie (p. 37). In *Capital Vol. I* (1887) they were labelled ideological classes (p. 293) which, nevertheless, revealed that he was referring each of the profession as a class. In *Communist Manifesto* ([1848] 1967) they are referred to paid- wage laborer (p. 02). Interestingly, in the same book he introduced lumpen proletariat (p. 06), the dangerous class. Moreover, in *Capital Vol. I* (1887), political economists have been claimed as ideological representatives of capitalists (p. 398). Furthermore, in *Revolution and counter-Revolution in Germany* (1851), he mentioned several classes little known by his name e.g., middle classes, commercial classes, shop-keeping class, trading class. Importantly, subdivision of a class was also introduced in the book, for example, he stated that small farmer class is subdivided into four classes i.e. more wealthy farmers, small freeholders, feudal tenants and agricultural laborers (p. 5-6).

Fraction is another confusing concept in Marx writings because he repeatedly uses the word referring to several segments of different classes. In German, he used variegated terms inconsistently such as Faktion (faction), Fraktion (Fraction), Teil (Part), Gegenspartei (opposing faction or party) and Abteilung (Section; division). Furthermore, he did not concretely define these terms that obscure their use. He sometimes also used term Sammlung (collection) and koterie (coterie) equivalent to fraction (Zeitlin, 2004, p. 10, in footnote). However, the fractions Marx and Engels identified are of four big classes: aristocracy, bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and proletariat (Gandy, 2012, p. 99).

Marx is quite obscure due to fluctuating position of theoretical arguments on what constitutes a class, particularly in non-economic terms. One of the essential reason of this obfuscation appeared when he posed the question followed by another question that what makes other three classes i.e. proletariat, capitalist and landowner, in *Capital Vol. III* ([1959] 1999, p. 610), he left the answer uncompleted. Gandy in his book *Marx and History: From Primitive Society to the Communist Future* (2012, p. 96) adapted a story of Nikolai Bukharin, a well renowned figure to theorize Marx's concept of Communism, from A. G. Lowy. He stated that when Bukharin was about to finish reading the original manuscript of Capital Vol. III, he

arrived at the last chapter of the manuscript and startled by looking at a sentence "here manuscript break of", chapter: Classes, was uncompleted. He just looked out from the window and said, "Oh, Karl, Karl, if you just had finished this".

Marx gave a slight notion that proletarians, capitalists and landowners sustained by wage, profit and ground rent respectively while being aware of the value of labor power, capital and landed property. Presumably, it shows each of the classes is based upon its corresponding valued economic unit that constitute the classes or, in other words, the members of a class would no longer be members if their corresponding economic unit i.e. wage, capital and land property of the class would not be their possession.

In this way, what constitutes a class is not its members rather possession of potential economic resources, capable to be utilized in their corresponding value, that individuals have, therefore, class transition occurs. For example, he is inclined to the transition of petty bourgeoisie into manufacturer or laborer in *Communist Manifesto* ([1848] 1967). This economic unit of class and "transition class" –classes that will be exterminated (Ollman, 1968, p. 576) – is the glue of the whole story here. It is unambiguous that almost all classes and their fractions in his theses are transition-classes because they are disappearing e.g., peasant and petty bourgeoisie in his own times. Moreover, revolution will eliminate capitalist class thus in turn only one proletarian will exist but with the advent of communism, communities will succeed proletarians –classless society. It is obvious that instead of individuals their economic possession is transiting that in turn reshaping various classes or class memberships of individuals due to the mutable economic unit of classes. More specifically, economic resources are associated with mode of production and production itself that, in Marxist legacy, define and determine class. Thus, class is a common position in a structure bases upon relation of production. But here some major points described by Wright (1979) need to be focused upon. First, class constitutes common position; second, this common position is relational; third, relation is contradictory and fourth, contradiction is characterized by relation of production. Therefore, class relation is subject to exploitation because relation of production favors owner of the means of production –the principle of inverse material benefits (Wright, 2005). The principle refers to antagonism of capitalists by appropriating proletarians in production process that materially benefits capitalists and materially deplete proletarians. However, in advanced industrial societies "contradictory class location" issue began to emerge within class analysis. Marx has designated, keeping in view the transition class, three big classes but what about,

CEOs, Bureaucrats (who own property and power), property less workers, etc. in which class they will be located? Erik Olin Wright is one of the successors of Marx on the issue who highlighted the question and provided plausible solutions to resolve it in neo-Marxist perspective.

Wright (2005) argued that dichotomous classes in advance capitalism is unable to serve class analysis, for that the ownership of property is not unidimensional and power and rights to use the property to some particular extent is shared – sharing does not strictly mean to the particular egalitarian principle rather the structure of advance capitalism implies it. Such as an owner of the means of production (e.g., machines) has power on profitable use of the means but legal authorities of a region could impose some restrictions on the use of the means (Wright, 2005, p. 13). For example, The Paris Agreement restricted the emission of pollution that directly reflects the ownership and exercise of power by authorities on the ownership of means of production by a capitalist. The complexity of class relation is then significant in advanced capitalism. Furthermore, as mentioned above, several classes are coexisting in advanced capitalism. The coexistence of classes is associated, in empirical terms, with the problem of class location – a problem in contemporary world. However, to identify the class location of individuals, Marxist class ingredients can serve as standard. While extending the class definition within Marxist framework, Wright (2016) described that those who have control over money, physical capital and labor power are bourgeoisie. Proletarians refer to those who sell their labor power and do not have control over money and physical capital (p. 97).

However, some class positions are located between dichotomous class models. Those class positions are known as contradictory class positions. Managers and supervisors are examples of the contradictory class positions who have control over labor power, sell their own labor power and purchase labor power but do not own the means of production. Similarly, petty bourgeoisie are those who own means of production but neither have control over labor power nor sell their labor (Wright & Perrone, 1977; Wright, 2002).

Gramsci extended Marxist class analysis on cultural dimension, but his thoughts are scattered. The prominent figure of the dimension is Bourdieu, but he is not a Marxist. The class analysis of Bourdieu pertains that cultural distinctions are maker of underlying class distinction. His thesis comprised various concepts e.g., field, doxa, habitus etc., and the complex interrelation of the concepts e.g., habitus and cultural capital. Transcending the traditional analysis of class, he incorporated his own methodology of class analysis by

introducing other capitals to set boundaries of class within social space. Though he was against strict boundaries of classes yet in his survey research and analysis, class distinction, class positions, fractions and locations are reported in terms of occupation, taste, capitals, etc. (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 326-335). He asserted that society is multi-dimensional space where class serves as universal concept to explain inequality (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 114), therefore, he contradicts unidimensional approach to explain class e.g., Marx's economic dimension, because it shrinks the social space into economic space. Thus, he was against locating social position within the social relations of production.

By explaining inequality in terms of class analysis profoundly, he, initially, criticized traditional terrains of class definition and analysis. His perspective is least economical, but he did not neglect the aspect, whereas, in Marxist and Weberian perspectives, class is subject to the subjectivist or objectivist approach in terms of class location, position and analysis. In his research paper, *what makes a social class?*…(1987) he attempted to break the spell of subjective and objective approaches where former includes branches of (a) micro analysis disciplines e.g., ethnomethodology, (b) abbreviated reality construction of individuals and groups and (c) cognitive perspective on class. These approaches view social reality as social process instead of structural implications (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 2-17). The later encapsulates structural theories of stratification who have axiom of structural attributes of inequality at macro level e.g., Marxism. Structural approaches neglect human capacity to change, he asserted, and these approaches treat individual consciousness as epiphenomenon of the structural compositions e.g., class structure. In the structural approach, he specifically criticized Marxism, arguing, "Marxist tradition confuses the things of logic with logic of things" (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 7). Marx's class-in-it-self is metaphorical class, when came to know their needs and act on to fulfill the needs the class would become class-for-it-self. Whereas, Bourdieu (1985) distinguished theoretical class from real class –a project he materialized in *Distinction* (1984). Therefore, he argued that class differentiations are associated with the differentiations of material and symbolic resources where identification of differentiation is function of class habitus, conditioned with conditions of existence.

However, Bourdieu partly shares different aspects of Weber's theory of stratification. Weber's class is function of class situation –relationship of group of people with market – that has features of economic interest and market relations. The common economic interest and relation with market define one's class situation, for that doctors, academicians, technicians,

etc. are classes situations based upon the similar economic interests and relations with market. Therefore, similar class situation produces similar life chances. However, Bourdieu's class is function of positions by total volume of capitals (Weininger, 2005, p. 88) and he located such group of individuals who occupy similar volume of capital as class position, and fraction by relative volume of capitals within occupational division of labor. Moreover, contrary to class situation, class positions are characterized by total volume and composition of capital in space of positions. Weber differentiates status group –a group of people who share common life style – and class whereas Bourdieu's fundamental conditions of existence is identical to weber's notion of class because these conditions determine what is possible, impossible and probable for a group –in Weber's term life chances. In other words, what weber asserted a common class situation is Bourdieu's life chances in Weberian term.

Furthermore, he related status groups and classes that extended his class model to taste, culture, symbolic goods, etc., whereas, Weber, somewhat, did not establish theoretical relationship with status and property. Class differences in Weber's analyses are subject to the differentiation of relationship with market e.g., Industrialist and Professors are different classes, however, in Bourdieu's space of positions, professors, industrialists and executives are in dominant class (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 129).

Conclusively, Marx's class dichotomy is economic reductionism which cannot serve advanced capitalist society due to Wright's caution of contradictory class positions. Further, Weber's analysis attempted to reveal overlapping of Stände and class, yet class was defined in terms of market relation and demarcation of propertied and propertyless. However, Bourdieu's class conception is not confined to either cultural or economic dimension, therefore, his class distinction is multidimensional. The study used his class dichotomy i.e. dominant and dominated.

2.4 Social Space and Field: Social positions and Class identification

Being against economic reductionism of class formation and distinction, Bourdieu effectively, theoretically and empirically, introduced and analyzed three-dimensional social space that encompasses total *volume, composition and change* of capitals across time. At the first axis of Correspondence Analysis (see figure 2.1), he used total volume of capitals to locate class position, at second, the compositions or relative volume of capitals, and lastly, change in volume and composition across time in capitals (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 128-29). The first axis

represents class location by total volume of capitals where intersection of various occupational positions occurred that collectively represent the dominant class e.g., industrialists (upper section of graphical multiple correspondence analysis). At the very bottom of the graph, farmers, workers, etc., are located, which represent dominated class. The occupational positions e.g., technicians, junior commercial executives, secretaries, etc., could be called petty bourgeoisie because they are hanging between upper and lower class –however, Bourdieu did not use the class.

Furthermore, contrary to Marx's economic reduction to determine class(es), Bourdieu used composition of capitals i.e. relative volume of cultural and economic capital, at second axis. At the axis, higher preponderance of cultural capital relative to economic capital at upper section of the axis within the same class characterized with differentiation of fractions (see figure 2.1). The upper section of the figure comprised dominant class fractions and the lower

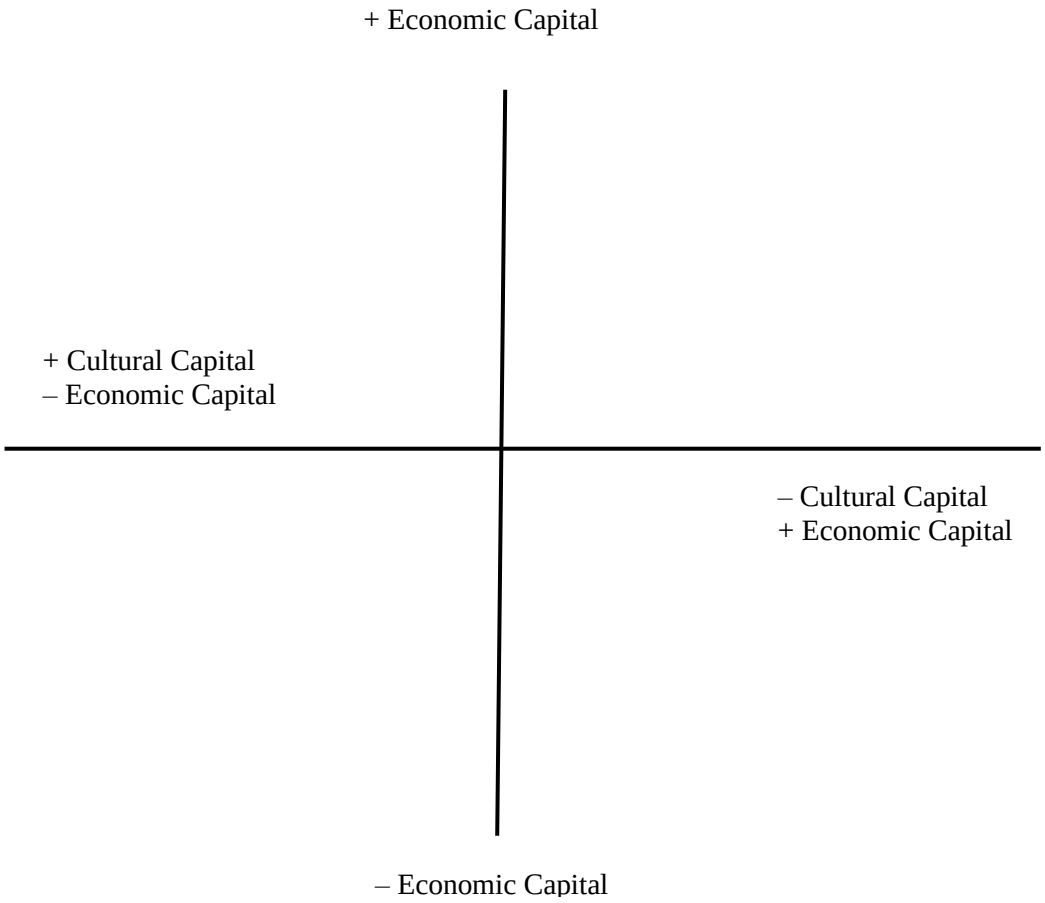

Figure 2.1. Social Space of Positions and lifestyle [Based upon Bourdieu, 1984]

section is consisted of the class fractions located in dominated class. The horizontal axis divided these fractions into dominant and dominated classes. The vertical axis further classified the fractions into two classes on global volume of economic capital. Moreover, Bourdieu used an arrow within the highlighted box of prominent class fractions to show the change in volume and composition of fraction's capitals over time i.e. trajectory.

The graphical Correspondence Analysis in *Distinction* (1984) showed class fractions, and their relations and differences from each other based upon volume and composition of capitals in their possession. Bourdieu also used gradational scheme of classes (i.e. upper, middle and lower) comprising class location within the structure of occupational divisional of labor. For that purpose, using his metatheory of habitus he established its relation with class because he preferred habitus and symbolic resources over rational action theory for class analysis (Weininger, 2005, p. 83). Therefore, he asserted that habitus is conditioned with class position (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 374) which generates practices and these practices serve to form status group –social collectivity. These social collectivities form symbolic boundaries within class structure. Although, he used gradational scheme of class (see Bourdieu, 1984, p. 526-34; Weininger, 2005, p. 90) but binary scheme of class i.e. dominant and dominated, is prevalent in social space. The gradational scheme was used for univariate analysis, whereas, binary scheme was used in social space. Such use of schemes made his operational and theoretical position obscure regarding class.

However, he clarified that property, sum total of properties… has not been taken as fundamental unit(s) to define class … rather the structure of social relations between all pertinent properties "…*which gives its specific value to each of them and to the effects they exert on practices*" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 106). One aspect is that avoiding reductionism to define class, for which he criticized other theorists, he included all possible factors of stratification to define class. Therefore, all pertinent properties refer to age, sex, gender, income, occupation etc. In a nutshell, all ensemble factors that inequality pertains are potential indictors of differentiations within social space. However, including gender, sex, ethnicity, etc., have secondary importance in his class analysis.

Thus, attempting to resolve the problem of objective and subjective approaches of class analysis he incorporated both, similar material conditions and similar subjective dispositions in class analysis. Therefore, he asserted that classes are defined by habitus associated with class positions in the occupational division of labor.

Any material and non-material existence e.g., object, is notified as capital when it confers social relation of power – tacitly or objectively show differentiation among actors – that asserts its relational existence, but this relational existence transcends economic relations of power. However, the relational existence of forms of capital have their intrinsic logic of relation. Therefore, all forms of capitals are interrelated and convertible. The interrelation of capitals is also related with specific social arena where their value is determined. These social arenas are what Bourdieu calls fields e.g. the field of power, education, politics etc.

2.5 Field, Power and Homology of Culture

Field is one of the most important concepts in Bourdieu's theoretical arena because, firstly, it is a system of relations, relatively independent. Being against all forms of structural theorization that imply exclusion of individuals and all other forms of theorization that tend to exclude structural impositions, he incorporated relational thinking or logic in his theorization process. He asserted "to think in terms of field is to think relationally (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 96)". Secondly, a field is relatively autonomous because it struggles to dominate over other field(s) e.g. the field of art and literature is under the influence of field of power where their *principles* attempt to gain control over each other. However, the more autonomous a field would be, the more it would be capable to impose its rules and regulation over agents. Thirdly, a field is also characterized by homology –resemblance within difference (p. 106) because the isomorphic characteristics of its agents signify distinction. Moreover, the homologous structure or function such as struggle over valued resources are similar among fields e.g. in the field of power and field of art and literature, the position and position-taking, struggle, strategies etc. are homologous characteristics.

Fourthly, a field is arena of struggle (p. 101) over valued resources to conserve, which implies strategies of production and reproduction where these valued resources are "both as a weapon and as a stake of struggle" (p. 98). Fifthly, on the question of field boundaries, Bourdieu asserted that it could be determined where the effects of a field cease that can be determined by empirical research. Lastly, a field is defined by system of practices and capitals –in terms of volume and composition –because field of positions is inseparable from field of position-taking (i.e. the structured system of practices) which is, quoting Spinoza, Bourdieu asserted, like, "two translations of the same sentence" (p.105). More precisely, the field of positions is identical to practice positions in the field which means that field imposes certain practices over agents.

The field of power is attributed with relative positions of agents and positions of capitals the agents conserved in social space because they transubstantiate power in social relations of their existence. Actors –the accumulator and investors of capitals – determine their social positions in relation with their occupational position in social space through the cost and benefit analysis of the capital accumulation and consumption but the determination of positions depends upon the field where value of capitals determines e.g., the literary capital would have comparatively or relatively lower value than economic capital in the field of economic relations of power. It is also to be noted that the cost-benefit analysis of capital consumption or investment is not rational but dispositional because the field designs durable dispositions that serve to direct investors to act unconsciously, or having sense of the field through internalization of tacit rules of the field. These unspoken rules of field are *doxa*. Within a field, the correspondence doxa, habitus, capital(s), underlying logic and structure of relations also work relationally. Therefore, a capital has no meaning of its existence without the existence of a field.

Another important aspect of field is that it serves as market of capitals' exchange where actors utilize the defined value of accumulated capital to proliferate or reproduce the accumulated capitals at their disposal in order to maintain the conserved position in relation of power. The exchange aspect of field signifies the struggle among actors within the field where corresponding capitals become the objects and tools of struggle –the struggle of capitals, by capitals, for capitals. Thus, a field is an arena of struggle for capital accumulation. Such accumulation of capitals demands their constant investment, but they are unequally distributed among actors in social space. The unequal distribution of capital serves to construct classes and fractions with respect to absolute and relative savings as well as consumption of capitals.

Although a field is an arena of struggle for capitals, but it is also an arena where value of capitals is defined. The definition of legitimacy of rules is associated with the definition of the value of a capital where the valued resources (i.e. capitals) are appropriated according to the legitimate strategies of appropriation. These strategies in a field are unspoken rules, the common sense and unconsciously acknowledge methods (i.e. doxa) which are mechanized with corresponding habitus (e.g. class habitus) that legitimizes the most important form of capital in a field. The legitimization of the rules of capital conversion into other valued capitals or forms of capitals which is necessary for the sustainability of class position and in economic sense is a profit, is the process of the construction of arbitrary power relations. It reveals that the

arbitrary power and power relation are not that kind of systematic structure or structural relations introduced by structural functionalists because the macro sociology of Bourdieu is the configuration of fields, not structure as a whole.

The idea of field regarding the struggle for capital also reveals structured relations among various positions defined by the amount of capital associated with a position and value of capital in a field. Capital exerts certain power on its holder that confers its relative position in the social space, but the relative position is mutable according to the mutability of the field. In the field of education, the relative position of industrialist may not be the same in the field of literature. This is due to autonomous nature, to an extent, of each field. A field has its own structure of relations that determine value of a capital. Therefore, capitals in particular field are effect of class fraction and vice versa, in relation with the field. Thus, a field is governed by its principles of hierarchization in social space that formulate dominate and dominated classes and their fractions.

Bourdieu explained that almost all fields e.g., field of power, is organized by a major principle of hierarchization: *chiastic* (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 116) or *chiasmatic structure* (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 270) even class structure such as dominant class (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 116) and middle class (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 122). The chiastic structure denotes the inverse order of dominant and second principle of hierarchization. The former principle is subject to the unequal distribution of economic capital that consists of money, wealth, property etc. and the latter is the function of unequal distribution of cultural capital which consists of information, knowledge, lifestyle, etc. These principles are what he used to illustrate in the class distinctions in social space. Figure 2.1 showed that the upper pole is dominant class constructed by the global volume of economic capital and compositions i.e. the relative volume of economic and cultural capital. The lower pole is dominated class that also have the same structure of capital but relatively lower accumulation and composition.

The existence of chiastic structure within the sphere of domination remained *constant* across history: priest and warriors, intellectuals and capitalist – opposition of bearers, as well as the form of capitals themselves, cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 266). Apart from the perpetuation of chiastic structure, the bearers of the forms of or the capitals themselves e.g. cultural and economic capital, also strategized them to perpetuate the size of the class through inclusion and exclusion of biological products i.e. individuals, due to the principle of "numerus clausus" –maximum number of entrants (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 286).

The important aspect of the classes and their distinction that Bourdieu incorporated is homologous structure i.e. isomorphism of cultural capital. The class whether dominant or dominated also have homology of practices. The homology of practices is the matter of isomorphic lifestyles that majorly involve in the consumption of cultural capital or sustaining the taste where several related strategies are required. The acquisition of educational credentials particularly prestigious education is one of the strategies to sustain the dominant position in homologous structure of relations and positions. In *field of cultural production*, Bourdieu (1993a) explained the homology of the field of cultural production, related principles in the dominant class, structured relation of positions and homologous structure (see figure 2.2).

The field of art and literature is under the field of power where the heteronomous principle of hierarchization is dominated and always affect the autonomy of literary and artistic field. The heteronomous principle functions uninterrupted if the autonomy of artistic field would be perished. In other words, the autonomy of the artistic field depends upon the autonomy of its structure of functioning which is governed by autonomous principle of hierarchization. This principle is associated with the autonomy of art production. The autonomy of art production would be subjected to the restricted production if the autonomy principle governs the field. However, if the autonomy principle disappears, the field would be governed by the principle of power field, the heteronomous principle. Therefore, the restricted principle –subject to the art for art's sake –would be perished and the large-scale production – art for market demands' sake – would embed with the field of art and literature. The art for market demands' sake, bourgeois art, the art for profit, is self-interested. The art for art's sake is to seek symbolic recognition, thus, disinterested. The bourgeois artists and writers are "Enemy agent" (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 41) in Bourdieu's consideration.

Conclusively, Bourdieu was trying to explain that artistic or literary field has relative autonomy that threatened by heteronomous principle of power field. However, both fields are in the upper right pole of social space, the place of dominant class (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 37-40) that reveals their structure homologies.

Anheier, Gerhards & Romo (1995) summarized the structure of cultural field. They described that (1) economic capital in the field pertains weak degree of segmentation and strong degree of hierarchy due to money as currency and economic status as its prime measure, whereby, monetary success and failure defines distinction among agents. Cultural capital encompasses high degree of segmentation and hierarchy owing to the education and cultural

practices as its measure, whereby, recognition and indifference defines distinction because prestige is currency of cultural capital. Social capital also encapsulates strong degree of segmentation and hierarchy because social connection has been taken as its currency and membership as its measure, whereby, formal association and disassociation defines agents' distinction. Symbolic capital, like cultural and social capital, includes high degree of segmentation and hierarchy due to legitimation as its currency, whereby, art or artistic and non-art or non-artistic define distinction (p. 867).

The field of power –a prominent field in his analysis of societal configuration of structural relations – and field of art and literature are fields of forces, structure of relations among positions and capitals, struggle and arena of strategies to conserve positions or position-taking i.e. to improve position (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 30; Bourdieu, 1996, p. 264). This is one of the reasons that field of art has double principles of hierarchization because field of power encapsulates it. As he described,

> "… whatever its [*artistic field*] degree of independence, it continues to be affected by the laws of the field which encompasses it (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 39, *added*).

As it has been explained above that field is structure of relations where value of capital defines relationally, thereby, these capitals or forms of these capitals also denote power or power relations because agents have certain properties in the social space – consists of several fields e.g., field of literature and field of power (see figure 2.2), which objectively exhibit their existence in opposition to other certain properties in the same field. The relational character of capitals is, thus, relational character of power, specifically "the power" because the transmutability of values of capitals in terms of field defines the relations of power.

The field of power is field of forces (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 264), thereby, it is also subject to power struggle through strategies of appropriation of capitals in respective field that evoke the exertion of forces, stem from exchange rate of capitals in these fields, where accumulation of capitals or monopoly over them would no longer be an imperative function of power relations rather value determination of the capitals relatively. This value determination function refers to the defining characteristics of power that reflect the "…power over the forms of power or capital granting power over capital" (p. 265). Conclusively, the power struggle is the struggle for domination that is, of course, arbitrary but has to be legitimated, whereby, the principle of

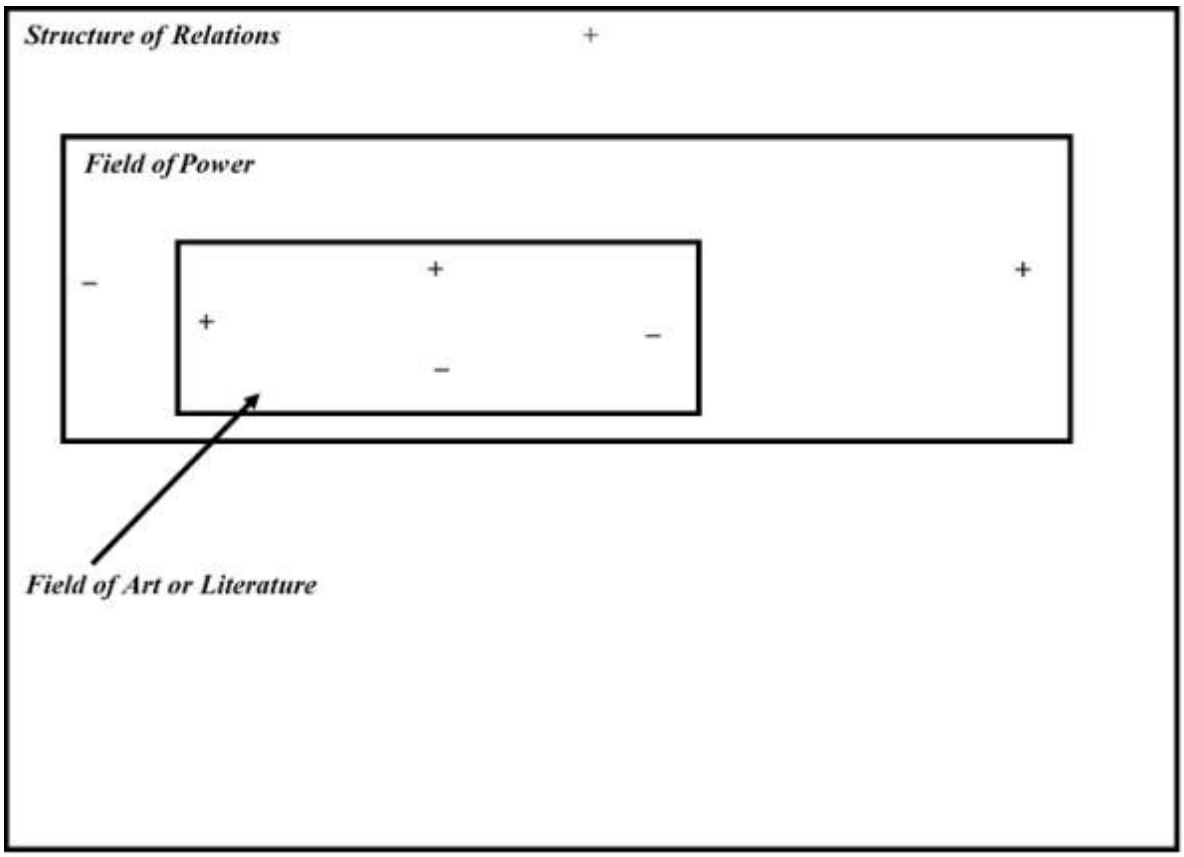

Figure 2.2. The field of cultural production. Based on Bourdieu (1993a).

legitimation is also at stake that needs to legitimate itself as well. Therefore, the strategies of power reproduction or reproduction of domination is what that incorporate legitimation of legitimate principle or legitimate principle of legitimation. Reproduction strategies to legitimate domination and legitimation of the process of domination is imperative characteristic of field of power because, as Bourdieu put in, "No power can be satisfied with existing just as power… it must thus justify its existence" (p. 265).

The structure of the field of power was presented through social space of positions (identified in *Distinction,* 1984) and its comparison with the space of higher education constructed in *The State Nobility* (1996) where he again found that the structure of field of power is chiastic: the inverse relation of dominant and second principle of hierarchy, that is to say, the intersection of cultural and economic capital in social space of positions. The field and subfields also structured through the constituent homology of positions emerged out of oppositions e.g., the first half of the field of power is structured homologically in opposition to the second half of the field. Bourdieu (1993a) described that the artistic field where Left Bank artists – bearers of low economic but high cultural and symbolic capital, and peer and fellow artists recognized their products–are placed oppositely in the same field to Right Bank artists

–bearers of high economic capital and relatively low cultural capital (p. 270). He also found the same form of opposition in economic, cultural and university field. Concisely, their opposition is manifestation of their homology.

In *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993a) he stated that homologies structure a field, in opposition of fields e.g., between field of power and field of art and literature. These homologies also structure the field of power (the opposition of heteronomous and autonomous principles of hierarchization) and class relations (p. 44). It was further explained that homologies of opposition tend to produce struggle between classes, therefore, power depends upon struggle within and between fields. The struggle between fields in relation with effect of homologies on these fields can best be explained by struggle between field of power and art or literature. These two fields are in persistent struggle to extinct the fundamental principles of struggle: heteronomous and autonomous principles where chiastic structure between homologies of fields tend to signify the oppositions and relations of structure of each field. The field of cultural production has its inscribed structure of relations, even struggle within the field e.g. the struggle over production of cultural objects for corresponding audience depends upon the homologies of spaces of producers and audience that sharp active opposite to the field of power due to the struggle between fundamental principles of these fields. Thus, the subfields of field of cultural production are embedded with large-scale production – if autonomous principle disappears – and restricted production if autonomous principle succeeds to confer its socialized bodies to abide by the principle. In other words, homology of a field determines the production by producer with respect to the field of consumer of product, not their consciousness. Apart from struggle between fields, agents within each field are also at constant struggle with each other as well as fractions and classes to accumulate more capital and sustain or enhance their relative positions.

2.6 Class struggle

Class struggle is competition of individuals or collectivities to maintain social position or improve assets that they possess within structure of social positions which, in almost all respects, is identical to imply various strategies by agents in their capacity of investment i.e. reserved resources. Therefore, class struggle is competition over accumulation of capitals and more importantly the reconversion of capitals that again subject to the appropriation of reserved amount of capitals, their exchange for other capitals, that could possibly ensure sustainability of their relative positions in structure of social relations.

The reconversion strategies, exchange of capital for more profitable capital that are accessible, imply movement across fields. For example, a shopkeeper's investment of economic capital on education of his son is the transformation of social position if the converted capital appropriated in the field and consumed with respect to the aspiration of upward mobility –in this case intra-field mobility. However, vertical mobility only required change in total volume of capital i.e. economic capital, in social space that must not be confused with occupational mobility or switching occupation in any direction whether downward or upward because it does not necessarily explained class shift such as a shopkeeper's shift to clerical work. Thus, vertical mobility and intra-field mobility are functions of struggle to maintain or increase reserved capitals.

Moreover, struggle in its practical sense or excluding its metaphorical description is implication of various strategies by agents. The substantive example of such struggle, as Bourdieu repeatedly described, is educational system. The system tends to reproduce capital(s) particularly cultural capital for labor market based upon the already reserved amount of capital by children and their parents who are prominent agents of its consumption. However, the increasing rate of educational capital produces its inverse effects in the form of its inflation and devaluation simultaneously, whereby, within a same class the struggle to conserve and utilize educational capital initiates among inclined collectivities toward accumulation and reconversion of their economic capital into educational capital that signifies the "competitiveness" of reserved resources on valued resources.

However, the inflation and devaluation produced by educational system in terms of its demand, being an effective strategy, victimize those who lack the capital. Although, an agent with low amount of required capital invest, in accordance with the strategy and limitation of capacity, is, by the virtue of the structure of demands, actually contributing to produce inverse effects of his aspiration: exacerbating inflation and devaluation. Such mechanism of struggle victimizes those who reserved low amount of required capital. Bourdieu asserted that academic credentials outside the scholastic market have same value, the value its holder retains could be profitable by the utilization of economic and social capital of those who hold the credentials but the victims of devaluation of academic credentials do not acknowledge the inverse effect because they hold symbolic power of educational capital that assigns value and identity to its holder. In other words, other than economic and cultural retunes, the symbolic capital i.e. the

title of nobility, is what academic credential promises because it is “patent of nobility than the title to property” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 142).

The competitive struggle is a reproductive struggle (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 165) which tends to produce the difference of conditions (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 164) that stems from actions and reactions of dominated class – in other words reconversion strategies (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 157) – which is a struggle for interest and against the interest of others simultaneously. Thus, reproduction of some class fractions depends upon economic capital e.g., industrialists and shopkeepers at higher and intermediate level respectively, whereas, fractions associated with cultural capital e.g., professors and primary teachers at higher and intermediate level respectively, greatly invest in cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 115). Now it can be comprehended that the vertical mobility in the same field required accumulation of the capital valued in the field e.g., moving from primary school teachers to university professor required accumulation of cultural capital, whereas, switching from a shopkeeper to an industrialist required conservation of economic capital. Intra-field mobility demands reconversion strategies, whereby, a capital would be exchanged from the capital valued in other field e.g., a professor needed to exchange cultural capital for economic capital to become a craftsman. Such mobility, vertical and intra-field, is not just a change in positions rather to maintain or increase position in structure of relational positions.

Comparing Marx and Bourdieu perspectives on class identification, it can be inferred that Bourdieu’s class concept is highly complicated relationally than Marx. The relational concept stems from interrelation of fields, capitals, habitus and practices in the social space, whereby, within a class, fractions with respect to their corresponding fields, and its principles and homologies are also in constant struggle with each other that are extended to the larger space or classes e.g. dominant and dominated classes.

Although economic dimension is central in Marxist class analysis, yet it did not abandon the debate rather excelled it. Therefore, alternative approaches of class determination and class analysis began to emerge e.g., Weber’s approach of class determination and class analysis. The following section introduced typology of class based upon its determining factors.

2.7 Class Typology

Wright (1979; 2005) organized various debates on class definition, determination and consequences within Marxist legacy and alternative to the legacy. He identified three theoretical dimensions based upon (1) gradational or relational dimensions of class definition and (2) if class determines by relation dimension whether this dimension is of Market or production relation. Furthermore, if class relation is relation of production then (3) what type of production relation would be imperative to determine class? Assenting and ascending these theoretical dimensions, he elicited five definitions of class that are as follow:

1. Classes are defined in terms of gradations,
2. Market relation and production relation,

} Relational Scheme

3. Technical division of labor,
4. Authority relations and
5. Exploitation.

} Production relation

The relational type of class definition covers 1 whereas 3, 4 and 5 falls into production scheme of classes.

The gradational scheme defines classes by their relative positions to each other, not in terms of relation. In other words, the location of any class is subjected to its possession of resources quantitatively. The most common typology of this scheme is upper, middle and lower classes that can also be subdivided into upper upper … lower lower and so forth. In measurement terms, gradational measurement is ordinal measure that hierarchized classes. Although, it seems plausible to define class in such hierarchic scheme yet the question that what determines the scheme is unanswered. However, from the initial proponents of the scheme (Ossowski, 2003) to the recent researchers (Paulsen & John, 2002; Kraus, Piff & Keltner, 2009; Saunders, 2010) two indicators i.e. income and status, for class construction have been used in their studies. It has been argued that income only could be insufficient to determine one's class, but it could be one of the potential indicators. Though income determines class, yet a higher income only does not reflect upper class because there are several variables associated with it e.g., power, prestige, class behavior etc.

In other words, income cohort may aggregately locate individuals within a class yet power, prestige, behavioral differences may exist within the stratum. Therefore, several proponent figures of class analysis prefer status to define class. One of the major problems with gradational scheme is that it lacks explanatory power of what determines class in a dynamic nature of society because gradational scheme is static typology. In other words, gradational scheme is unable to explain that how ethnicity in structure of Punjab could be a potential factor to locate an individual within a class because, first, it is not a quantitative measure. The second issue related with first, is that gradational scheme is also unable to illustrate class structure in relation with class struggle because significant class theories, from Marx to Dahrendorf, explored ultimate relationship of class structure with class struggle.

Another most renowned and profoundly discussed taxonomy of classes is relational scheme. Contrary to gradational scheme, relational scheme defines classes by their structured social relations with each other, not relative. It does not take into account the magnitude of owned resources to define class, for example in the social relation of exchange in market the seller of labor power is worker and the purchaser is capitalist regardless of their quantitative volume of resources. However, individuals' placement in any class is characterized by qualitative location in social relation. Moreover, contrary to gradational scheme, it connects class structure with class struggle and have explanatory power to determine class in dynamic nature of society. Classes are labeled with their relational position to other classes in relational scheme e.g. Dahrendorf defined superordinate and subordinate classes in terms of authority relation; Weber defined capitalists and workers in terms of exchange relation in market (it must be noted that for him a society is not only composed of two classes rather there are number of classes in each society primarily linked to particular market); and Marx explored capitalist and proletariat through their relationship of production. In relational sphere of class analysis, two major dimensions of class definition and class analysis are significant: class relation of exchange in market and class relation of production.

Max Weber introduced class relation of exchange. He was of the view that class should not merely be viewed through relation of production, ownership of property and means of production rather there are several other factors e.g., class situation, which contributes in class construction. For him, class is a group of individuals found in same class situation. He said,

> "The concept of class, however, is always organized around one common principle: it is the kind of chances in the market that determines the common

> conditions of the individual's fate. 'Class situation' in this sense ultimately is 'market situation'" (Weber, [1946] 2010, p. 139).

The class situation is identical to neo-Marxist concept of class location or position (Zeitlin, 2014, p. 9, in footnote). In other words, it can simply be defined as relationship of a person with market, but that relationship depends on resources of a person he has at its disposal that in turn define his life chances. Giddens (1973) assented and advanced his argument by incorporating skills relevant to the market e.g., education corresponding to market demands, in his dichotomous components of market relation or exchange relation in market. He was of the view that skills can also be exchanged in market thus ownership of property, labor power and skills are three components that shape classes. However, class cannot simply be comprehended by system of exchange in market because production is another vital component of market that cannot be neglected. Therefore, Marxists are of the view that class should be defined and analyzed in relation of production. However, Marxists have little agreement on a universal conceptualization of production. It has been defined in three ways: system of division of labor, authority relations and exploitation.

The system of division of labor (e.g., occupation, profession, job status etc.) defines class as a group of people who share similar technical skill in relation of production. Authority relation (command and obey classes) defines classes as a group of people who shares similar authority. Exploitation (exploiter and exploited or capitalist and proletariat) defines class as a group of people who exploit or exploited. Here exploitation means (a) the antagonism of capitalist towards proletariat that generates their material benefits and material depletion of proletariat, (b) proletarians' debarment from resources and (c) capitalists' appropriation of labor power of exploited (Wright, 2005, p. 23).

2.8 Capitals

2.8.1 Capital I: Marx and Bourdieu

Marx and Bourdieu asserted the unequal distribution of resources within their conceptual space that is unimaginable without a concrete in depth analysis of underline forces within mechanism of production of such inequality. For Marx, in the process of production, capitalists use labor power to produce equivalent value of the power with an aim to generate surplus value –a significant objective contributing factor of exploitation. On the other hand, Bourdieu has ambiguous illustration of unequal distribution of resources in terms of capital as in *Reproduction in Education, Culture and Society* (1990a), with respect to cultural capital, its unequal distribution was presupposed, the capital itself remained unspecified and the class differentiation was presumptive in reflections of the impositions of cultural arbitrary by pedagogic actions. However, *Distinction* (1984) is a set of concrete quantitative analysis where these concepts were dealt with rigorous methodology and statistical analysis.

Apart from ambivalent conceptualization of underpinning concepts in theories of Bourdieu and Marx –the transformation problem reflects void in his theory (Gordon, 2003, p. 341) – both have capital as glue of their theories (Desan, 2013). Therefore, the centrality of their theories i.e. capital, is taken into account to make the forthcoming Bourdieusian enunciation in the dissertation more explicit, clarified and justifiable. Thus, to comprehend Bourdieu's theoretical inclination of capital, what Marx meant by and confer from capital is described because Bourdieu is allegedly famous Marxists.

Economic exchange reveals capital in process i.e. to purchase something to sell it for higher profit. Such circulation of money and relation of production increases wealth of a capitalist. The process of accumulation of wealth is embedded in Marx theory of Capitalism in which circulation of money by capitalists' desired methods maximizes profit. He denoted the process by M-C-M' model (Money-Commodity-Money + increment). This model is a precise depiction of economic exchange in labor market. Money is capital if it generates more money or gross profit in modern term. Henceforth, it is important to clarify that 'money' which facilitates exchange value is not capital rather the money which has potential to generate more of it being circulated in market is capital in its nature (Marx, 1887, p.102). Similarly, a commodity is also capital in case of its investment that generates more capital. Thus for Marx, a material object, at first place, is not capital rather it exists in social relation of production that execute the circulation of money or commodity in order to produce more of it which depicts

the ‘procedural’ nature of capital in his theory of capitalism. He attempted to clarify, albeit complicated, by claiming that “…capital is not a thing, but rather a definite social production relation, belonging to a definite historical formation of society, which is manifested in a thing and lends this thing a specific social character. Capital is not the sum of the material and produced means of production. Capital is rather the means of production transformed into capital, which in themselves are no more capital than gold or silver in itself is money” (Marx, ([1959] 1999, p. 568).

The theory of economic capital closely raveled with theory of labor value because the ultimate accomplishment of capital generation and regeneration is to produce surplus value. Insofar as to approach desired economic purpose, capitalist purchase labor power that adds value in the commodity by using available constant capital at time. Labor power is one of the elementary contributing factor in value generation and addition in product – e.g., “…spinning adds new value to the values of the cotton and the spindle” (Marx, 1887, p. 140) – which is the sum total of all capabilities labor possess and use in production of use value (p. 117). Capitalists commodify this power with the very purpose of generating value and surplus value simultaneously (p. 129). As a matter of fact, labor power performs productive functions in labor process by using its elementary factors i.e. labor activities, its subject (raw material) and instruments, and this process is value generation process (p. 124), therefore, capitalists in open market not only purchase labor power, the subjective factor of labor process, but objective factor as well. The objective factors are means of production in the labor process (p. 128). Ironically, these means of productions were products before entering into the labor process. In the labor process, Marx asserted, these products lose their value by being altered into mere factors or means in the process and begin to be consumed. Thus, the final product is nothing but absorbed labor (p. 131) in the labor process. Interestingly, labor power is sharp active opposite to constant capital, means of production, raw and auxiliary material (p. 143) because it possesses varying characteristic in accordance with circumstances (p. 144).

Marx summarized the matter by asserting that “…the process of production, considered on the one hand as the unity of the labor-process and the process of creating value, is production of commodities; considered on the other hand as the unity of the labor-process and the process of producing surplus value, it is the capitalist process of production, or capitalist production of commodities” (p. 135). Here, the surplus value would be recognized in terms of the exchange of product for money but more than invested – the capital.

However, value addition is also associated with condition of production of the time that reflects the labor – socially necessary – to produce a commodity. The social condition of production demands compatible mode of production, therefore, outdated methods to produce a commodity that definitely required more time than the available modes of production. For example, handmade clothes and power looms' manufacturing are capable to produce same product: clothes, but manual labor requires as much thrice time as a power loom requires to manufacture one-meter cloth. Thus, the compatibility of socially necessary labor with condition of production would add value to a commodity. The socially necessary labor time is, as Marx asserted, the average measurable time consumed by labor to produce commodities within a year, week or day. The labor must produce equal to the value of labor power – the value of their means of subsistence – that reflects the necessary labor time e.g., 6 hours per day working.

Moreover, Marx also claimed that, in relation with socially necessary labor time, in order to be value-creating labor, laborer effort must satisfy another criterion: the effort must be economically functional in market, that is to say, human activities embodied in relation of production as labor would be validated as value creating labor if it produces a commodity demanded in market (Gordon, 2003, p. 345). The value creating labor, purchased by capitalists, produced a commodity that would be sold into market to accumulate more wealth in return, the investment in production to pursue more and more surplus value or wealth is what Marx meant by capital in process. The production of commodities in labor process is important because "…it is essentially the production of surplus value. The laborer produces, not for himself, but for capital" (p. 354). In other words, socially necessary labor time determines the value of labor power purchased by capitalists to produce commodities. These commodities sell in market in exchange of the value of the commodity – the value of the variable and constant capital. The value of variable and constant capital reproduces themselves but with addition in selling commodities, the surplus value takes the form of capital in capitalist society. The matter can be simplified equations mentioned below:

C = c + v …….. The initial value of commodity ……..... I

C' = (c + v) + *s* ……. The generated value of commodity ……. II (Marx, 1887, p. 147)

Here,

c = constant capital = means of production = raw and auxiliary material

v = variable capital = labor power

s = surplus value = value addition

C' = value added capital

Thus, C (in equation I) is convertible into C' (in equation II) that denotes measurable addition in capital in terms of surplus value. It shows that capital must be reproduced in the circuit M-C-M' because the surplus value would be generated in process which takes the form of capital, that is to say, the capital in process. The equation II shows that the capital is produced from the addition of surplus value into the process, whereby, the M-C-M' model shows only the problem of abstract labor. Thus, to avoid the fetishized process the equation can be re-written as

M-C-[MP+LP]-L-C'-M' ….. Improved circuit for capital…. III (Desan, 2013, p. 321).

Here,

MP = Means of Production

LP = Labor Power

L = Labor Process

As mentioned above the importance of labor power for generation of surplus value, equation III systematized that importance by introducing it into general formula of capital. Desan (2013) asserted that the introduction of the LP in the equation would eliminate the fetishized form of circulation i.e. M-C-M' (Marx, 1887, p. 321) because Marx clarified that in circulation surplus value cannot be generated (Marx, 1887, p. 113), whereby, capital is denoted such as C'. Conclusively, capital revealed in "the process" which is associated with the generation of value, is not only value but use value, not only use value but surplus value and not only surplus value but exploitation. Therefore, capital not only form a commencing key point to understand the relation of production, means of production, value and power of labor power but the totality of social structure.

While seriously considering the capital in process introduced by Marx, researcher of the study asserted that Bourdieu's conceptualization of capital in his general theory of practices is different from Marx. Although he acknowledged his work as generalized Marxism (1993a,

p. 273, in notes) in terms of field yet he rarely pardoned Marx in his criticism on economic reductionism (Desan, 2013) and restrained himself from economism in general while assenting the discipline out of his analytical realm. He acknowledged, "As regards economic capital, I leave it to others; it's not my area" (Bourdieu [1984] 1993b, p. 32). Further, he clarified that his work can be perceived as "structuralist constructivism" (Bourdieu, 1990c, p. 123) with a caution that the structuralism, he mentioned, is not identical to Sassurean and Straussian but having the sense that the structure(s) is objective that governs the practices, perceptions and thoughts of agents, whereas, the constructivism is associated with the notion of habitus which relates objective structure with agents. As far as his use of the term "capital" is concerned, the economic-laden construct, Swartz (2013, p. 47-48) identified that Bourdieu used the term for three major reasons: first, non-economic practices related with economic hierarchies, they also serve to generate hierarchies. Second, the theory of economy of practices involves non-economic capitals as well e.g., cultural capital. Third, his conceptual and theoretical tenants about non-economic capitals were discovered in his empirical researches (see, Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a).

In *Forms of Capital*, Bourdieu (1986) introduced capital as accumulated labor, similar to Marx, which form the game of society but "…not least, the economic game" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 15) that clearly showed capital unconfined to material form only i.e. economic capital, rather it has "…a potential capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself in identical or *expanded form*…. three fundamental guises: economic, cultural and social capital" (p. 16). Other than these types of capital, he introduced symbolic capital which itself is not an independent capital rather a capital determined by nature of field, appearing as its own various guises with respect to the field characterization. For that he used field-associated capital such as academic, linguistic, juridical and scientific capital. Symbolic capital is quantitatively equivalent to the number of fields in multidimensional society. He stated during his lectures *On the State* (2014) while describing symbolic capital that "I tell you this as a guarantee that I did not invent it [symbolic capital] just for pleasure…" (Bourdieu, 2014, p. 192, brackets added). At first, Bourdieu differentiated himself from Marx, as Swartz (1997) put in, by introducing non-economic goods and services, that is, extended form of capital that revealed his place in theorization of class differentiation and unequal distribution of resources, as Thompson and Williams argued, as "critique of orthodox Marxism" (p. 36).

But what Bourdieu's Capital itself is? Indeed, he did not enunciate the term in its full potential rather expressed it in critique on economism generally and on economic capital

specifically to ensure the imperative importance of the disinterestedness –the counter part of self-interest in economic theory of capital that abridged the capital in its material form. He acclaimed that the production of profit for self-interest in the economic theory ceased the image of disinterested aspect of interest functioning along with transubstantiation of capital(s) including economic capital that organized even better image of the world to comprehend its structure and reproduction. This disinterested aspect, implicit dimension of capital in economic theory, ensures flaws in pre-Bourdieusian notion of capital that required to be reintroduced in social world. The extension of capital or discovery of forms of capital are not metaphorical theorization of the concept because, firstly, Bourdieu does not support theory and research separatism and, second, the other forms of capital are substantive due to economism that presumptively made observation economic laden. However, his conceptualization of the capital is, somewhat, contrary to the perception of capital because he defined it as accumulated labor without defining labor. Partly like Marx, he acknowledged,

> "Capital is accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated,' embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 15).

Considering the "living labor" in accordance with "appropriation", the capital analogous to accumulated labor posed itself as valorization "which, when… enables" agents to consume the preserved power in process would generate value instead of capital. Beasley-Murray (2000) signified that Bourdieu's definition of capital did not define capital itself but value because the theory of value in its core axiomatic grounds is inseparable from accumulated labor which, for Marx, is the value, as labor power, and value generation or addition e.g., surplus value, by processing labor for desired purpose that resulted in production of more value and accumulation of more wealth, otherwise, "…capital is dead labor" (Marx, 1887, p. 160). Bourdieu differentiated himself from Marx when he defined capital because he shirked the production process, prime process of valorization, hence the production of capital. Henceforth, in this regard, process of economic production and productive capital are extinct in his framework.

He also argued that "capital is a social relation" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 113) by making it analogous to energy that could be effective in the most relevant field where it is produced and

reproduced. However, such conceptualization shows its propensity toward social capital –a specific form, not the capital in general.

His economic understanding of the capital matters the way that a concrete definition of the capital is not given in his studies (Bartee & Brown II, 2007, p. 5); his conceptualization of the capital is similar to economic discipline because he selected physical assets as indicators of the capital. In *Distinction* (1984), indicators of the capital comprised income, homeownership etc. (p. 117, 130) which are extended to stock and property (p. 135). Moreover, in *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977a), land was also incorporated as one of the major indicators of economic capital (p. 183). However, the notion of symbolic capital in relation with economic capital distanced him from economism because economic discipline presupposes that power resides in the accumulation of the capital, whereas, Bourdieu exerts that the capital, although is at the root of other capitals or forms of capitals, pertains its varying power in relation with symbolic capital. In other words, economic capital is not the only capital that holds power rather other capitals as well, however, the effect of the power pertained by other capitals is through economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 24).

Bourdieu used autonomous microcosms i.e. fields (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 181) – e.g., social field, educational field, etc. – whereas, Marx did not introduce autonomous spaces, especially for proletariat within capitalist structure in his theory of class conflict rather he hoped for the revolutionary activities from them. Interestingly, the revolution he hoped and predicted is in fact 'no voluntarism' because the capitalist digging their own graves (Marx & Engles, [1848] 1967, p.7), that is, the revolution is what capitalist imposed on proletariat by their inevitable thirst for accumulation of wealth and surplus value that establish exploitation. Nevertheless, Bourdieu's analytical inferences did not arrive at 'dominant class digging their own graves' rather accumulating more and reproducing persistently what they already possessed: the accumulation, transmutation and reproduction are what characterize dominant class. Henceforth, the revolution as ultimate solution of class differences is vanished in his work.

Bourdieu's theory is not confined to bourgeoisies and proletariats within economic framework of analysis particularly possession of means of production and exploitation because the symbolic scope in his work encompasses petit bourgeoisie, professionals, artists, teachers, students, etc. The symbolic dimension of his work operates beyond economic dimension – the dimension that concealed social, cultural and symbolic capital; that restricted sociologists to

class struggle and class-consciousness; that needed to be redefined – to explore the possible solution of structure-agency problematic. This intellectual endeavor of Bourdieu introduced habitus that simultaneously links structure and agency: structuring structure and structured structure (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 170). The habitus systematizes perceptions of agents within a class possessing particular position and practices of internalized perceptions (structuring structure) in relation with appreciation of the practices and perceptions that represent taste of actors. It simultaneously generates practice, perception and appreciation of practice and perception within structure: a class structure (structured structure) of the society (for detail see section 2.10). Although Marx dealt with consciousness, but his inclination was structural imposition by arguing that social consciousness corresponds to economic structure (Marx, 1904, p. 11) which excluded conscious will of action. In capitalist structure, for him, power passion and possession determine the game of economic life and do not provide opportunities to alter game but to follow them until the revolution.

2.8.1.1 Previous Studies on economic capital

Literature on economic capital has its own empirical history that covered almost all monetary and non-monetary aspects of social life, which are expanded from micro to macro level perspectives. At macro level, economic capital was treated as essential structural component that contribute to shape structure and social life; at micro level it could be called individual economy. However, at both levels, it has closed association with other societal components such as education, health, culture and so forth. It is not easy to precise vast array of empirical evidences of economic capital; therefore, focusing on major components of the study researcher confined the review of empirical studies to family, education and class.

Moreover, it is important to describe that economic capital have various operationalizations in empirical researches due to its inconsistent conceptualization. However, it is widely operationalized in terms of money and assets. Other surrogated form of the capital such as financial and physical capital have also been used, interchangeably, as a measure of economic capital or the capital itself. Thus, the study reports the findings of those studies in which economic capital was operationalized using these indicators such as money and socioeconomic status.

Considering family, economic capital and education, the first relational question arises that who have higher probability to get educated and who have higher chances to get prestigious education? In this regard, several studies reported positive relationship between income and

access to education (e.g., Bouchard & Zhao, 2000; Acemoglu & Pischke, 2001; Knighton & Mirza, 2002; Finnie & Mueller, 2008; Nam & Huang, 2009; Kim & Sherraden, 2011). For example, Bainbridge, Meyers, Tanaka, and Waldfogel (2005) studied probability of access to education in early childhood across family income quintile. They explored that children from higher income quintile families are highly likely to enroll in schools as compare to the children from lower income quintile families. Similarly, Corak, Lipps, and Zhao (2003) found that students from higher income families are highly likely to pursue post-secondary education.

In the field of education, other than cultural, social and human capital, economic capital (which is actually at the root of these all forms of capitals) has widely been evidenced pertaining significant positive effect on access to education and academic outcome (Jones & Zimmer, 2001; Li, 2007; Nam & Huang, 2009; Huang, Guo, Kim, & Sherraden, 2010; Fan, 2014; Baoyan & Minggang, 2015) but such effects cannot be explained without strategies that families use to appropriate the capital. Accumulated capital of a family e.g., economic capital, invested in children's education have the aspiration of enhancement in socioeconomic status that could be symbolic or occupational or both. Several studies reported that socioeconomic status of family positively affects children's academic achievement. For example, Battle and Lewis (2002) used socioeconomic status as one of the indicators of economic capital and found that it has a significant positive effect on academic achievement.

Parental or family aspirations also tend to maintain their social position in society. However, it is not only the investment of economic capital in education that serves to maintain or enhance social position rather the inheritance of the capital also substantiates the aspiration e.g. continuum of family business across generations. It could help those who own the means of production. Inheritance strategy is not effective for Individuals in the contradictory class positions such as manager because their human capital –cultural capital in Bourdieusian account –is what needed to acquire that education can deliver. Therefore, middle and upper class families use education as a mean to stable their class position or to enhance it. For example, Marjoribanks and Kwok (1998) operationalized economic capital of family through measures of occupation and house ownership of parents and found its significant association with positive educational outcome, whereas, Parcel and Dufur (2001) found significant relation of school financial capital and academic achievement. A recent doctoral dissertation conducted by Cheng (2012) reported that parental economic and cultural capital affects children's cultural capital that in turn affects their academic achievement. This study also empirically assented Bourdieu's argument on economic capital that it is at the root of other capitals.

2.8.2 Capital II: Coleman, Bourdieu and Putnam

Although classical theorists e.g., Durkheim, Tonnies, Weber, Marx etc. did not prefer to use the term social capital in their theories yet their work reveals a notion of the concept. Durkheim's ([1984] 2013) work of mechanical and organic solidarity is mostly based upon similarities and differentiation of social cohesion, network, trust and labor. He used solidarity to describe social cohesion of network in terms of division of labor. Similarly, Tonnies' ([1887] 2001) description of Gesellschaft and Gemeinschaft is also almost identical to Durkheim's concept of society with mechanical and organic solidarity. Marx and Weber also enunciated such notions of sociability and network. The importance of group network particularly monopoly of bourgeoisie for accumulation of wealth and Weber's (1946) concept of Stände in relation with membership of upper circle, similarity of the circle in terms of group values and culture, shows a form of social capital. However, Coleman, Bourdieu and Putnam introduced a refined form of such solidarity, cohesion and relationship monopoly, theoretically and empirically.

Coleman's social capital emerged from a critical appraisal – a short one – of economic and sociological anomalies on actions of actor. He seems inspired from *embeddedness* of Granovetter (1985) who criticized that economic systems and economic activity of actors are bounded to economic realm because economic analyses have neglected the aspect of social relations to construct sociability –trust, norms, expectations etc. Moreover, sociological approach excluded liberty of actors in action. Other than embeddedness, social capital, like economic and human capital, is also embodied. As economic capital embodied in means of production, and human capital embodied in skills and other relevant entities, social capital is embodied in social relations (Coleman, 1988, p. S100). Coleman was steering the middle discourse through social capital by encompassing its forms and functions because such analysis cannot be reduced to economic actions even in economic system without evading social principles of social actions.

His conceptualization of social capital is not of its ingredients or intrinsic structure rather functions (Coleman, 1988, p. S98) because he introduced how social capital is mechanized and functions to generate e.g. human capital in next generation, or aids e.g., academic achievement. Thus, social capital as a tool, guides to comprehend the underlying structure of relations and benefits it exerts on its possessor within and out of, power and authority system. Therefore, social capital, unlike Bourdieu, is not introduced and analyzed in

terms of reproduction of inequality but in terms of functional properties it possesses in a generalized form. However, he dealt with the concept of closure on which effective social norms –a form of social capital –depends. Figures 2.3a and 2.3b represents the structure of social relationship with and without intergenerational closure. On the contrary, Bourdieu showed topographic closure (or interchangeability) of capitals instead of individuals relationship structure (figure 2.3c). His structure of agents' relationship is grounded in data (see Social Space). Coleman considered broken, single parent or nuclear family (parents work outside home) a structural deficiency because the structure could not appropriately aid to generate human capital for the next generation (p. S111). In other words, the physical absence of individuals in a structure or weak social relationships are structural deficiencies. Other than closure, "appropriable organization" also provides social capital (p. S108) as South Korean study circle of student activists (p. S99).

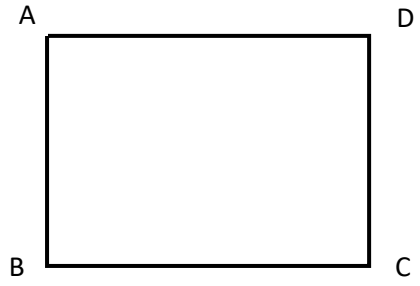

Figure 2.3a. Relationship network with closure.

Figure 2.3b. Relationship network without closure.

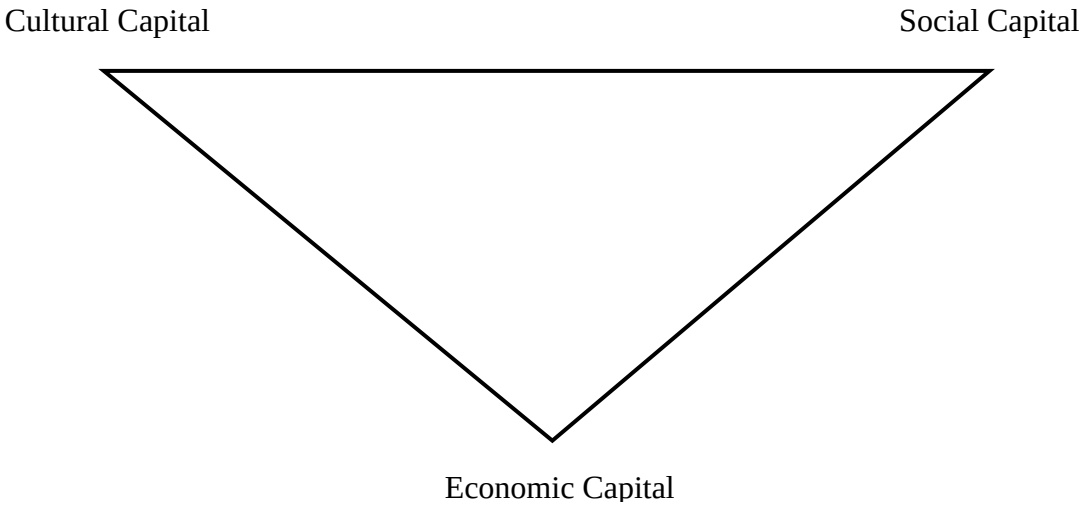

Figure 2.3c. Bourdieu's relationship network of capitals

Social capital is pastiche of various entities, it has productive characteristic, it is context specific in terms of actions, it could be innocuous and inimical and most essentially it resides in the structure of social relation. It showed that the capital has several properties. Coleman (1988) described four examples to signify variegated existence of social capital that are briefly mentioned below.

First, Jewish Diamond market with close family and, religious and community ties. Second example was taken from a story, published in International Herald Tribune on June 21-22-1986, of South Korean study circle of student activist who were promoting radical thoughts and connected together. The study circle, consisted of members from almost same school or other same organization, constitute their social capital. Third, migration of a mother from Detroit to Jerusalem for the safety and freedom of her children. Fourth, Kahn El Khalili Market of Cairo where switching business i.e. jack of all businesses available in the market, is essential part of economic gain (p. S98-S100).

The El Kahlili market is an example of outstanding credit slips, hold by each member of the market. In other words, referring a customer to a friend's shop is like holding a credit slip that the friend has to payback by referring his customer to credit slip holder as an obligation. Such reciprocity is based upon trust. Therefore, expectation of, say person *A* (credit slip holder), and obligation on, say person *B* (credit slip holds on), reciprocally is built by trust between them that constitutes social capital. Moreover, Asian "Committee system" and extended patriarchal family system are also examples of obligations, expectations and trust that constitute social capital (p. S102-3). Briefly, the reciprocity of obligations and expectations in terms of trust constitutes social capital for all who could be called upon others' obligation.

The second form of social capital is information channels where social relation with informative individuals serves to accumulate more information and to save time e.g., a university teacher's relationship with his colleagues who are interested in up to date knowledge (p. S104). The third form of social capital is norm and effective sanction that unlike above mentioned farms not only facilitates actions but also restrict them –of course not all of them. For example, innovativeness considered as deviant can be restricted and a good athlete could be encouraged (p. S105).

Coleman and Bourdieu, to some extent, share similar properties of social capital i.e. resources that can be utilized to achieve particular end. Coleman's social capital is productive because it facilitates actors to accomplish their desired end. Its shows relationship with social

structure because he argued that social structure facilitates actions. His approach is steering a middle discourse between functionalism and rational choice theory. Furthermore, Coleman described that members of "The Senate Club" have more power than out-Club senators because they have accumulated higher level of credit (p. S103-4). Here, Bourdieu's conceptualization becomes more evident because Coleman also understands that group membership is able to generate power that can potentially be used as a resource to achieve desired end (e.g., The Senate Club members could generate voting bloc that out-Club members would not be able to because they do not hold higher social capital at their disposal). Coleman's and Bourdieu's social capital was defined in relational terms because they believed that social capital exists in relationship –the variety of social structure of relationship would always be taken into account.

Despite the similarities, one of the major distinctions between Coleman and Bourdieu is located in class. Bourdieu used capitals to identify location of fractions in social space, however, Coleman did not use the capital for the purpose. Coleman's approach is somewhat confined to the facilitation of capitals to achieve desire ends, whereas, Bourdieu's approach to capitals is beyond facilitation. Although, Bourdieu acknowledged the facilitation of capitals, yet he used them for class analysis, whereas, Coleman's social capital does not fall under the analysis.

Coleman sees quality of relationship within family as social capital, whereas, Bourdieu included such quality relationship within family as cultural capital. Bourdieu sees parental educational capital as objectified form of Cultural capital, whereas, Coleman considered it an indicator of human capital. Similarly, what Putnam (2000a) thinks of human capital i.e. education, (p. 16), Bourdieu termed that institutionalized cultural capital. Coleman implies individual level social capital to community level social capital that explain social capital in relation with a particular structure such as school, thus school social capital, whereas, Bourdieu sees such organizational capital as institutionalized or institutional habitus. Sullivan (2003) explained that Bourdieu's notion of habitus including institutional habitus is that much complex, ambiguous and subjective that restricted its quantification, thus excluded from several quantitative researches.

Bourdieu believes that a broader social capital could not be as much efficient and effective as a close social network that encompasses highly notable and rich people. Therefore, the quality of network, in terms of economic and cultural capital, matters the most for him, not quantity or extent of group. In a nutshell, as he claimed that economic capital is base of other

species of capitals, the quality of social and cultural capital, not quantity in some fields, depends upon the volume of quality and quantity of economic capital. In other words, the volume of quality and quantity of social and cultural capital depends upon the quantity of economic capital. The difference can be comprehended through the difference between taste and ordinary collection e.g. the possession of some Suzuki 800cc cars cannot be equivalent to one Rolls-Royce.

In the recent era, social capital was illuminated by Putnam (2000a) in his book: *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. Although, he used the term social capital in his earlier lectures and work e.g., Putnam (1995, p. 34; 1996, p. 4) but he lacked in abundance of empirical support to all attributes of social capital. However, his book encompasses theoretical and empirical enrichment of almost all indicators of the capital and its correlates. In the book, he explained how American society is lacking social solidarity or group relations though the society is elevating in economic terms. He used analogy of 10-pin bowling, a very famous game in America (Putnam, 2000a, p. 118) and various other games or as he preferred to use "informal social connections" to show that Americans became lonely player in the game (Putnama, 2000a, p. 99-122). In other words, American society is rapidly diminishing the sense of community, lacking in trust, shrinking networks and decreasing social bonding.

In his earlier work, he spoke of social capital as properties or attributes of community life (1996a, p. 4). However, in the same year he expanded the properties to social life (1996b, p. 34) – a gigantic expression than community features – in terms of norms, network and trust. Nevertheless, both definitions share a similar property that social capital is characterized by productive people to accomplish their shared objectives. In 2000a, he defined social capital as

> "…connections among individuals—social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them [individuals]" (Putnam, 2000a, p. 16, *brackets added*).

He argued that social capital is negatively correlated with several social aspects (e.g., education) that depreciating social life of connectedness, social participations, economic lift, political engagement and even happiness (Putnam, 2000a, p. 398). At one place, he spoke as functionalists claimed for positive contributions of deviance that social capital sometimes results in opposition (p. 393) – groups' conflict strengthens their internal ties. It is important to describe that Putnam's social capital is partly similar to Coleman and Bourdieu, but his analysis

extended to almost every aspect of human social life that lacks in Coleman's approach. Unlike Coleman, he assented with Bourdieu that social capital holds by the individuals.

In relation with stratification or equality, or specifically class analysis, he claimed that social capital often produces class differences (Putnam, 2000a, p. 390) but social capital itself should not be analyzed in division terms rather in dimensions (p. 21). However, adapting from Yiddish, he categorized individuals into *Machers* and *Schoomzers* (p. 99). Machers refers to active participants in formal organizations that make things happen and Schoomzers are active participants in informal organizations. In other words, Machers' investments (i.e. participation) produce community improvements, whereas, Schoomzers' investment may also bring community betterment, but the odds are very low, yet he believed that informal social connections are more important to build social network than formal. Therefore, Schoomzers were his higher priority to be analyzed because they are more common in contemporary America (p. 101-2). Although *Schoomzing* is significant for social capital but it does not mean to undermine formal activities (p. 122). *Schoomzing* are informal activities of daily life like playing games, watching television, going to bar, clubing etc. However, these activities, even of Machers, cannot categorize individuals' lifestyle as Bourdieu and Weber did referring to higher taste and upper circle lifestyle, respectively.

Putnam's analysis of informal social activities illuminates that social capital can better be generated in the contemporary America where "membership" is not the case rather interaction. However, Bourdieu's social capital particularly of upper class is susceptible to such leisure activities. For example, involvement in sports, particularly being spectators but not passive one, with friends increases social capital (p. 120-21). However, Bourdieu considered membership of golf club as social capital –a potential resource convertible into economic capital. Putnam's analysis of education did not assert its connections with economic capital but with decreasing formal community connection (p. 115), whereas, institutionalized cultural capital is directly convertible into economic capital in Bourdieu's theoretical framework and empirical analysis.

After identifying the differences and similarities of social capital of Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam, researcher of the current study inferred that the operationalization of social capital, in Bourdieusian domain, should be of those potential connections or network at disposal of agents that seeks to sustain class position of agents strategically. Thus, a network consisted of some politicians is a highly potential social capital to approach a desired end of any of the

members within this group than numerous less-potential friends or membership of groups in social media. Such operationalization asserts a recognition of group membership with similar class habitus, cultural and economic capital that re-asserts the centrality of economic capital in class position. Marx also assented that reproduction is not only the reproduction of capital but capitalist relation as well (Marx, 1887, p. 395-401).

The concept of recognized membership in association with cultural and economic capital is very much similar to Weber's concept of social closure: marginalization or exclusion of non-elites from their group membership that, on the one hand, reinforces class inequality and, on the other hand, legitimatizes their class position. Social closure incorporates those agents who possess upper class taste that enhances and legitimizes their group social capital, having symbolic and physical support of other capitals.

2.8.2.1 Previous studies on social capital

Empirical researches on social capital explored its diverse relation with several variables using theoretical assertions of Coleman, Putnam and Bourdieu. The studies on the capital has been saturated enough with evidences regarding theoretical arguments that it advanced its operationalization and conceptualization. Keeping in view the large amount of literature, researcher confined this section to his variables of interests such as class, family and education. However, some other studies were also included.

Lin (1999; 2000) enunciated that Marxian capital theory focused on capital advantages of bourgeoisie. However, new forms of capitals extended the model from a specific group to an actor (i.e. individual, community, household e.g., see Laurence, 2011; Han, Kim, & Lee, 2013). Therefore, these researches were labelled as neo-capital theory such as Bourdieusian perspective claimed that social capital is unequally distributed among classes and contributes in reproduction of stratification. This claim has empirically been evaluated by several researchers such as Freeman and Condron (2011) found association between class and social and cultural capital. Moreover, they also explored that upper class students who participate in extracurricular activities, receive higher (mean) grades, and their parents frequently visit school comparing with poor and working class students (p. 534). The outcomes of their research were measures of social and cultural capital that showed unequal distribution of capitals across classes. Kitchen, Williams, and Simone (2012) explored that social capital is higher in high and mixed socioeconomic status neighborhood than low socioeconomic status neighborhood.

Similarly, Nedjat, Majdzadeh, Kheiltash, Jamshidi, and Yazdani (2013) studied the distribution of different dimensions of the capital among classes in Tehran and explored that lower class have less social network, trust, cooperation and social action than upper class, whereas, political actions were lower among upper class than lower class (p. 1163-64). In eastern India, finding of Das (2004) is consistent with the study of Nedjat et al. (2013), Kitchen et al. (2012) and Condron (2011). Similarly, Hall (2002) explored unequal distribution of the capital across classes in Britain.

Majority of the empirical studies on social capital operationalized the concept on theoretical assertions of Putnam and Coleman. However, some researchers also focused on Bourdieu's social capital. Pichler and Wallace (2009) evaluated Bourdieu's social capital theory in 27 European countries. They divided the capital into formal and informal types and explored its diversity across classes on extensivity (i.e. membership) and intensivity (i.e. participation) dimensions. They affirmed that social capital is unequally distributed among class fractions e.g., extensivity and intensivity of formal networks were higher among professional / managerial fractions as compared to non-manual, petty bourgeois, working and other classes (p. 326).

Social capital assumed by Coleman and Bourdieu, is that family contributes to generate the capital, however, these assumptions have not been explored in detailed because of improper conceptual framework and crude measurements (parents and sibling quantities, not familial network) of predictor and outcome. Prandini (2014) drew a framework to include familial relations in social capital theory while arguing that sui generis properties of family contribute to generate social capital, defining family as structure of relationship. His findings validated the argument that children generate and transform high-level social capital to society by enforcing family members to participate in communal life in Italy (p. 230). Similarly, Amore (2017) validated the implication of Prandini in the same country by exploring that weak social capital increases family control.

Ravanera and Rajulton (2010) also pointed out the conceptual issues of family and social capital. They attempted to improve and empirically evaluated family assumptions regarding social capital. They explored that mothers in intact families have greater social capital than non-intact families because mothers in former family system have higher informal ties and trust. Moreover, their study is consistent with Kitchen et al. (2012) and Nedjat et al.

(2013) in terms of income quintile and social capital: higher income is positively correlated with higher social capital.

In relation with the issue of the capital generation, Warr (2006) affirmed through qualitative study that women generate social capital by participating in family and community that revealed the importance of family participation. They engage in helping others and help seeking behavior but frequent help seeking reduces the likelihood of receiving help in disadvantage neighborhood. Calarco (2011) studied help seeking behavior in elementary school and explored that middle class students frequently ask for help from teachers that positively affects their academic performance. One implication the study proposed is that such behavior helps to generate their own capital that is contrary to Bourdieusian capital theory in terms of structural impositions.

Unlike Asiatic cultural patterns where volume of female social capital is assumed to be lower than male, the question of gender disparity of the capital widely affirmed that females have higher social capital than males in some contexts even two decades ago (e.g., see McPherson & Lovin, 1982; Moore, 1990), whereas, male has large social circles than females generally.

Al-Fadhli and Kersen (2010) classified social capital into religious, family and cultural social capital. Their study explored that these three measures of the capital have positive significant effect on male students' college aspirations, whereas, only cultural social capital was found uncorrelated with female students' college aspirations. Moreover, Wu, Palinkas, and He (2010) divided social capital into family, peer, school and community (correlated to each other) as predictors of academic achievement. Their study explored that upper class family and school social capital significantly predicted academic achievement of children and these two forms of the capital significantly mediated between community social capital and academic achievement. Interestingly, Gaddis (2012) found no effect of high-class mentor (a measure of social capital) on academic achievement. O'Connor, Floyd, and Scott (2010) also studied college enrollment as outcome of social capital and socioeconomic status. They explored that social capital (measured through various indicators of financial knowledge e.g., parents and students' actions for financial aid) and socioeconomic status has a significant positive relation with college enrolment among white students.

Hawes and Rocha (2011) signified problems in Putnam's social capital model in relation with Hero's social diversity thesis (see Hero, 2003a, 2003b, 2007) which focused on racial and ethnic minorities. They concluded that social capital in America did not explicate what it supposed to signify according to Putnam because it has detrimental effects on policy equity for minorities. Laurence (2011) advanced ethnicity debate in relation with the capital. Although, Laurence assented and found inverse effect of diversity on social capital, yet cohesion of ethnic groups was evidenced. Moreover, Laurence argued that social capital and ethnicity studies must be complemented by diversity effect which can evident the relationship between diversity and tolerance by developing "bridging". Moreover, dealing with volunteering, Musick, Wilson, and Bynum (2000) found that social and cultural resources contributed more than human capital and social class to engage in volunteering. However, whites have higher tendency to be a volunteer than blacks do. Further, church attendance enhances volunteering among blacks and decreases among whites.

Social capital has been widely studied in relation with ethnic diversity in developed and developing countries. Many studies found negative association between these two variables. For example, Bakker and Dekker (2011) explored association between ethnic proportion and trust level among homogeneity of ethnic characteristics that implies higher level of trust among ethnic homogeneity in neighborhood. Previously, Lancee and Dronkers (2008) explored that ethnic diversity is negatively related with trust level. The study of Dinesen and Sonderskov (2012) supported this finding in Danish context. Moreover, Schmid, Al Ramiah, and Hewstone (2014) studied trust and diversity in 'out and in' groups. They explored that diversity decreases in 'in and out' group trust. Contrary to "in and out ethnic contact", recent studies on social capital and ethnic diversity examined inter and intra ethnic contacts. Sluiter, Tolsma, and Scheepers (2015) explored diverse effects of inter and intra ethnic contacts in neighborhood on social capital. They found that ethnic diversity of small localities is negatively associated with bridging and positively related with bonding. However, in large ethnic localities, ethnic diversity relation with out-ethnic group is contrary to positive relation of ethnic diversity and inter-ethnic group neighborhood.

Recently, another new measure of diversity was developed to explore its effect on social capital. Mavridis (2015) managed to operationalized diversity as fractionalization (two individual groups share same ethnicity) and polarization (bipolar distribution of ethnicity) in Indonesia while constructing diversity index (p. 378). The study found that fractionalization

and polarization is negatively associated with trust. Conclusively, findings were consistent with previous researches where inverse relation between diversity and social capital was found.

Beyond class, family and ethnicity, social capital has also been assessed with several other variables such as employment, virtual society, victimization etc. Lancee (2010) explored the effect of bonding and bridging on immigrant's employment and income. The study concluded that bridging has a positive effect on employment and income, whereas, bonding had no such relationship. Pénard and Poussing (2010) studied virtual field to explore how it involves in generating and maintaining social capital. Econometric model of the study found that IT skills and cognitive costs (measured through time spent on internet weekly) have a significant positive effect on extending social capital, whereas, it did not contribute to maintain the capital. Interestingly, they also found that income and education contributed to decrease new social ties and did not contribute to maintain social capital in hand.

Stickley and Pridemore (2010) explored that social capital of men provides them protection against violence in Moscow because social ties are firewalls against such immoral actions. They also found that the capital is not correlated with female victimization. Andrews (2011) bifurcated social capital into community and organization social capital using exploratory factor analysis. The factors were used as predictors of government performance. The study concluded that separate effect of each of the capital is positively correlated with government performance, whereas, joint effect of predictors is not related with the outcome.

In the context of Pakistan, Imam, Shafique, and Shah (2014) found that job satisfaction, social capital and commitment to work are associated with each other, and job satisfaction partially mediated between social capital and commitment to work in banking sector. Akram and Qayyum (2014) also studied social capital in banking sector but their operationalization of the concept covered cognitive, structural and relational dimensions. They explored that these dimensions of social capital have a significant negative effect on stress in banking sector. H, Ali, Chaudhry, and H. Ali. (2016) used social capital as moderator between human capital and different measures of satisfaction i.e. job, career and life satisfaction. They asserted that when social capital is treated as moderator it strengthened the relationship among variables. Ali, Ahsan, and Dziegielewski (2017) found that social capital is associated with youth career choices.

Shareef, Chaudhry, and Azid (2015) studied gender disparity in social capital and found that females' social capital is greater than the capital of males due to cultural values of Pakistani

families where parents' religious traits contribute to develop social capital of females because religious traits tend to strengthen family ties. Moreover, the trust in relation with parents' permission contributes to increase females' social capital. They concluded that organizational participation of males as an indicator of social capital is higher than females due to the religious trait of parents. On the contrary, Lindverta, Patel, and Wincent (2017) explored that females' social capital particularly family ties restricted their access to open market due to their patriarchic family structure. Although, being entrepreneurs, they have potential social resources such as family ties yet these ties provide limited access to market.

Ashiq, Mahmood, and Siraj (2013) found that use of mobile phone contributes to enhance and maintain social capital among college students. Ahmad, Mustafa, and Ullah (2016) explored that Facebook is most effective social networking site for bonding and bridging social capital of university students, whereas, the capital has no association with demographic and socioeconomic variables.

Mustafa and Qazi (2007) drew a comparative analysis on *Karez* and modern tubewell system of water utilization for irrigation focusing on social capital and other ecological variables. They concluded that the transformation of Karez to tubewell system is deleterious for social capital of farmer communities because the former system contributes to develop and maintain their social capital. However, Carnap (2017) did not find strong evidence of relationship between various irrigation systems and social capital in India which has similar irrigation system like Pakistan. Akram and Routray (2013) also studied social capital in rural community of Pakistan and explored three dimensions of the capital i.e. trust (i.e. generalized and institutional), heterogeneity of associations and participation in local organizations using Principle Component Analysis. It was explored that these three dimensions are significantly associated with household's access to credit in rural area. Moreover, Taga (2014) explored that social capital contributed in the poverty reduction because poor people utilize their social capital i.e. family, friends and other relationships in order to increase their economic status.

2.8.3 Capital III: Bourdieu

Although, economic and social capital are popular concepts and serve in different theories as central analytical element to understand the fabrication of social world yet cultural capital is one of the most debated, evaluated and validated concepts. Bourdieu narrated that cultural capital, comprised cultural goods and services, is not metaphor, it really exists in every society that could vary according to the cultural context. Cultural capital is generally known as

accumulated cultural knowledge, information and practices especially of some fractions of dominant class e.g., professors, lawyers and artists. Hereof, the dominance or power in social system is not saturated only on economic dimension.

Initially, Bourdieu and his colleague(s) introduced cultural capital as potential resource in educational field to acquire academic credentials, but it is not the only function of the capital in the field rather it is associated with symbolic violence as well.

In *Forms of Capital* (1986), the importance of cultural capital in advanced society was signified by criticizing economists or economic reductionism, human capital and rational choice theory. Economists reduced structural and components of structural analysis to economic sphere only that consists of economic investments on children in education and monetary outcomes. Such selective measures of investment and outcome failed to account for complete set of structures and investments on children (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a). Such failure to comprehend the whole accounts of educational structure did not able to reveal the latent investments of family in their children which is cultural capital.

Thus, unlike other theories that explain unequal academic achievements in education with respect to children's aptitude, capability and economic differences, cultural capital also serves as one of the most important investments of parents to produce academic differences and to reproduce the objective structure of inequality. Furthermore, the functional aspect of human capital theory in relation with productivity that explains educational credentials as skilled labor power and relates such skills with upward mobility and economic productivity also neglected that reproduction of unequal distribution of capitals (inequality) lies in the process of the production of capital and its accumulation through family and education. Most importantly, it is not only the process of production and accumulation of economic capital that contributes in reproduction of structural inequality rather cultural capital as well because distinction among groups also stems from differences in lifestyle which has been inculcated in children in their early socialization.

The acquisition and functions of the capital, its forms and relationally in relation with its existence and competition with other forms of capitals are characterized by principle of struggle as mentioned in the field of power and cultural production. It, therefore, is exposed to its bearer as variety of distinctions with its own dynamics and dynamism, best fitted in a field where it has relatively higher value as currency e.g., in the field of cultural production. Moreover, institutionalized form of the capital confers access to market of culture where it

serves as currency which is convertible into economic capital. Educational credentials, one of the most recognized forms of the capital in market of culture, tend to reproduce, as one of the elements of reproduction, prestige, privilege, honor, etc., or generally inequality. However, it is not only consumption of objectified form (books, instruments, art pictures etc.) that generates distinction rather the production of the form as well in the field of education.

In *reproduction* while treating general theoretical axioms, assumptions and models of academic success as scientific stereotypes, Bourdieu and Passeron (1990a) explained how educational field demands the capital that it supposed to distribute equally but schools, as facilitators of the reproduction of inequality, pedagogic actions and power within the system systematize the legitimation of inequal distribution of the capital. In this sense, they explored that meritocracy in education is bourgeois meritocracy e.g. enrollment criteria in Ivy League (see Karabel, 2005; Stampnitzky, 2006). Therefore, academic systems presupposed highbrow dispositions of students and reward the students who have already internalized the dispositions. Bourdieu observed in French educational system that teachers reward students by analyzing their art of speech, writing, accent, etc. In other words, as economic system favors those who already have large amount of the capital at their disposal, similarly, educational system favors those who already hold large amount of cultural capital (Harker, 1990, p. 87).

2.8.3.1 Isomorphism of circuits: M-C-M′ and C-E-C′

In this sense, educational institutes reproduce cultural capital with value-addition that could be perceived similar to Marx' M-C-M' model such as C-E-C' where agents with stored amount of cultural capital (C) enter into educational institution (E) which supplements the capital already acquired and results in educational success. This circuit can also be written as,

$$C\text{-}E\text{-}C' = A' \text{ ---------- (i)}$$

$$C\text{-}E\text{-}C \neq A' \text{---------- (ii)}$$

Where,

C = *Presupposed amount of cultural capital*
E = *Process of educational institution*
C' = Sanctioned or *value-added cultural capital e.g., academic credential(s)*
A' = *Agent with successful academic achievement*

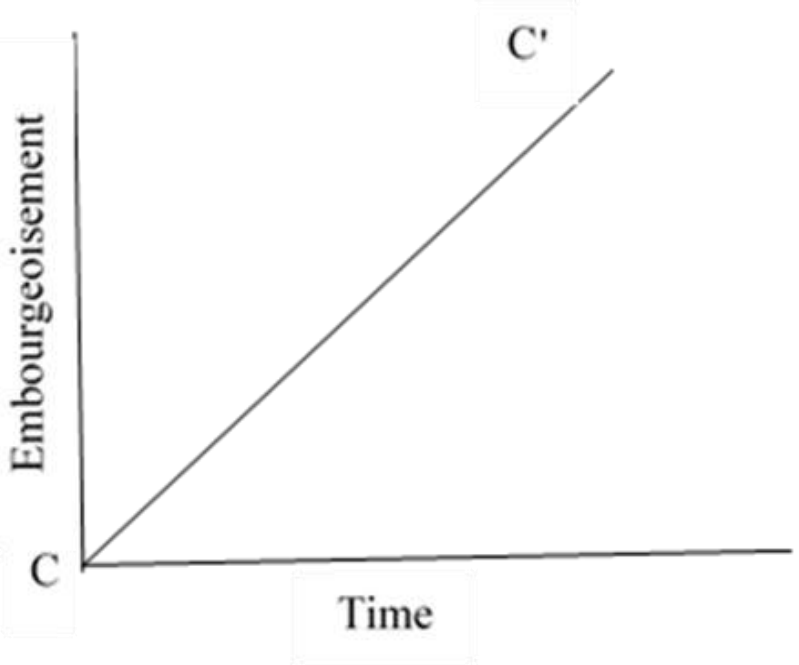

Figure 2.4a. Reproduction of cultural capital with value-addition

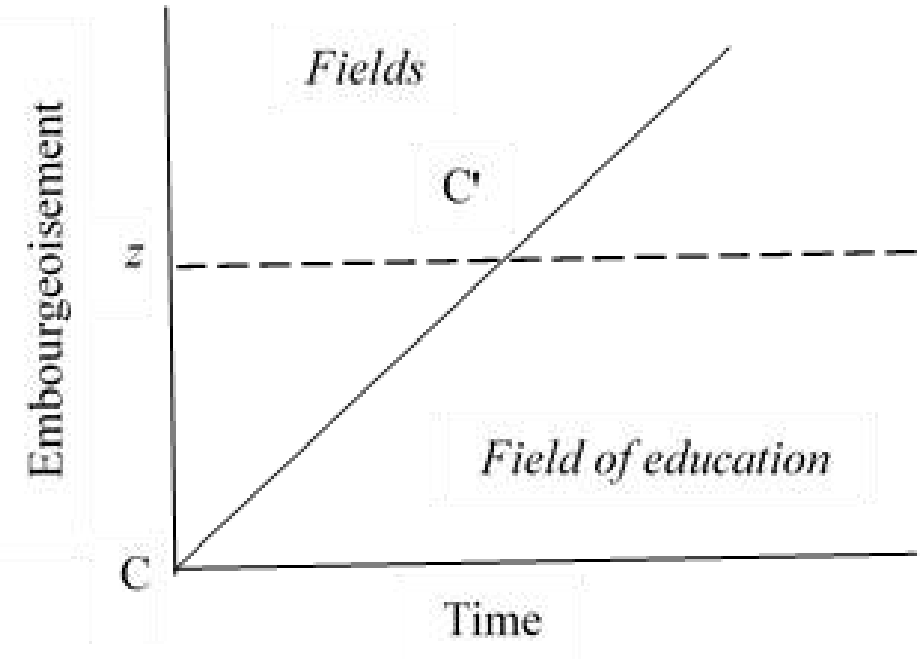

Figure 2.4b. Reproduction of cultural capital with value-addition arbitrary *Z* .

The circuit (ii), assumed from circuit (i), denotes that if an agent particularly from dominated class in educational institution would be unable to accumulate defined amount of the capital legitimately –which is supposed to be internalized or referred to *embourgeoisement* in class theories (Harker, 1990, p. 88) – academic credential will not be awarded to him. It is

obvious that the central purpose of E is to convert C into C' as A would be A' being bearer of C'. It can also be denoted as first-generation being bearer of C at time 1 would transfer the C into second generation. The bearer of C, second generation as an agent A at time 1 and as socialized body in family, enters into E to acquire C' –agent A'. Figure 2.4a showed the circuit C-E-C' where C requires investment of time in A for initial inculcation and internalization of C that the agent carries into E where C in relation with embourgeoisement converted into C'. Here, a question arises that when it will be acknowledged that C is converted into C'? The educational process at the initial stage of enrolment commences the procedure of conversion where at every movement C is being converted into C' but the legitimate divulgence and acknowledgment that an agent A is recognized as A' is the consecration of A by awarding authorized academic credentials. Therefore, Figure 2.4b showed an arbitrary line *z* that represents whether agent A acknowledged as A'.

The successful students (A') cross *z* where their inherited cultural capital (C), which educational institute presupposes, confers its legitimation (C') in the social space (see figure 2.4a and b). The boundary *z* can also be supposed as successful enrollment in a prestigious educational institution where C' is not identical to ΔC rather Bourdieu attempted to explain that C would be accumulated as C', whereby, A would be recognized as A'.

As A' enters into the market e.g., field of occupation, other capitals i.e. social (S) and economic (ε) tend to play joint venture with cultural capital. For example, in an advanced society, the social space of positions placed agents with respect to their accumulated C' and ε. It means that $A' = C' + S + \varepsilon$ is identical to $P = C' + S + \varepsilon$ where 'P' refers to power in structure of social relations.

These equations are taking the risk of neglecting Bourdieu's structure-agency relation because for Bourdieu thinking about society means to think relationally. Therefore, if his equation of practice: *{(Habitus) (Capital)} + Field = Practice* (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 101), incorporates above mentioned equations then Bourdieu is actually trying to convey in field of education (so far in other fields as well) that

$$\{(CH)\ (C' + S + \varepsilon)\} + EF = \text{Practice} \quad \text{---------- (iii)}$$

Where,

CH = *Class habitus*

C' = *Sanctioned or value-added cultural capital e.g., academic credential*
EF = *Educational Field*

The equation showed that practice is a result from combined effect of habitus, capitals and a field, however, the equation he proposed is confusing because it does not clarify whether it is simply expression of the model or it has mathematical insight (Swartz, 1997). Nevertheless, the equation revealing that practice does not depend only on habitus. Figure 2.5 showed simplification of the equation. It is suggested the equation should be taken as figurative representation of theory of practice because field is a crucial concept to quantifiy in his theory. Similary, though habitus has been attempted to quantify (e.g., Dumais, 2002), it was crudely operationalized.

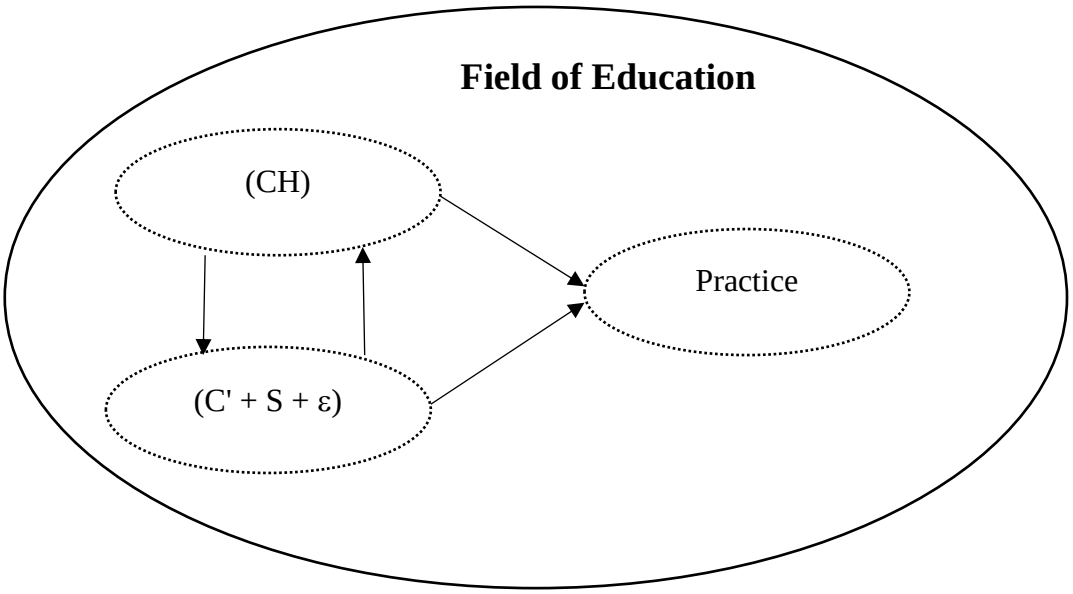

Figure 2.5 Graphical representation of equation of practice

2.8.3.2 Embodied form or habitus?

Cultural capital comprised *embodied, objectified and institutionalized* capital. The embodied cultural capital refers to "…long lasting dispositions of mind and body" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 17), whereby, cognitive and physical characteristics of the form of cultural capital confuse its state with variegated aspects of habitus because the properties of the form seems same as of habitus. Are these two concepts homogenous or used interchangeably? If the concept of habitus was used to reveal the subjective aspects of individuals and its relation with

structural dimensions than why habitus could not able to convert itself into economic forms or any other form of capital because the interrelationship of capitals are susceptible to convert itself into other forms of capitals, or why embodied cultural capital is not able to be a form or aspect or property of habitus or vice versa? The dilemma of such hoaxed form of two concepts arose in the writings of Bourdieu because he did not clearly explain differentiation between the terms.

It is important to note that its accumulation involves time that necessarily be liberated from economic necessities. The *pedagogical actions* (known as investment of time by parents, relatives, closed acquaintances and teachers), on the one hand at initial accumulation of the capital, require immediate functioning or practice i.e. transmission of the capital into children without delay and its practice within and outside of family, and on the other hand, demand its reproduction through the practices legitimated in the structure. However, the accumulation, transmission and reproduction of the capital is related with economic capital. The unequal distribution of these capitals reproduce inequality.

The embodied cultural capital develops in family during early socialization. Although, personal characteristics of individuals tend to change but they build on primary habitus –the durable, predisposed and transposable dispositions – which means that despite the change in behavioral or cognitive characteristics, practices are based upon the matrix of perceptions or dispositions established during early childhood socialization. Bourdieu (1986) claimed that "it [embodied cultural capital] declines and dies with its bearer" (p. 18, brackets added) because it refers to the internalization of external potential resources. Therefore, the embodied form and secondary habitus are somewhat similar at cognitive dimension. However, the differentiation rests upon the capital dimension. The physical aspect of embodied form denotes its substantive practice e.g., gym and legitimate body shape. Furthermore, the body-shape is also directly convertible into economic capital such as wining prize money in body building contest which also exerts related symbolic capital e.g., earning the title of Mr. World.

The important point of differentiation is the word "capital" itself because it denotes culture as potential resource. In other words, the embodied form of cultural capital, the dispositions, are also characterized by those potential resources such as use of language, behavioral patterns, thinking mechanism, etc., which can be exchanged for or converted into other forms of capitals. For example, students' abilities or parents' way of interaction with school administration could influence the institutionalized form of cultural capital of students

–conversion of embodied capital of parents or students into academic credentials. Such convertibility distinguishes embodied form of cultural capital and habitus. Although both concepts stem from dispositions which required investment of time to acquire and develop yet their distinctiveness is rooted in their use for conversion. It means that habitus is embodied form of cultural capital when it will be treated as potential resource to achieve desired end by converting it into another form of capital. Therefore, embodied form of cultural capital is externalization of habitus, whereby, the conversion of the capital substantially took place.

Majority of the empirical researchers analyzed the capital in educational field because Bourdieu (1984; 1996) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1990a) proposed and evaluated its potential consumption as well as accumulation in the field. The study of Karabel (2005), Stampnitzky (2006) and Soares (2007) are significant examples of the evaluation.

Moreover, in terms of dispositions, there are plethora of empirical researchers who validated positive effect of dispositions on students' academic achievement. Stupnisky et al. (2007) found significant positive effect of critical thinking dispositions on academic achievement of students. It has also been found that learning dispositions (Larose, Bernier, & Tarabulsy, 2005), emotions (Gumora & arsenio, 2002; Valiente, Swanson, & Eisenberg, 2012; Mega, Ronconi, & Beni, 2014) emotional intelligence (Parker et al., 2004; Parker, Summerfeldt, Hogan, & Majeski, 2004; Petrides, Frederickson, & Furnham, 2004) and self-efficacy (Chemers, Hu, & Garcia, 2001) have a significant positive effect on students' performance. These correlates of academic achievement or student performance are cognitive, however, embodied cultural capital can be seen in substantive practices such as the ways of behaving. Such operationalization also shows its distinction from empirical measures of habitus which has been operationalized as future aspirations and expectations (see detail in methodology). Interestingly, empirical researches also showed the relationship of practices with other achievements. For example, Williams & Chaston (2004) identified the relationship of linguistic ability with success in business, and Fujio (2014) concluded that businessmen with high linguistic proficiency chair business meetings which also indicates success in business.

The second state of cultural capital is *objectified*, refers to the materiality of cultural objects, whereby, books, paintings, house structure, dressing patterns, wine etc. express labor power in its material form because the production of objectified cultural capital required labor and labor time. Similarly, the consumption of the form presupposed embodied form of the same capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 20). Therefore, the form presupposed economic capital and the

symbolic power it exerts on it holder as mark of distinction presuppose cultural capital. However, if a painting, a cultural object, is identified as objectified state of cultural capital than why academic credential, an objectification of educational procurement, is *institutionalized* form –the third state of cultural capital.

A cultural product would be legitimated if sanctioned by an institutionalized organization i.e. authorization by authorities for the production of cultural objects. Such legitimated production of objects confers relatively higher value in the market especially in advanced societies than the production of unsanctioned producers that reveals the difference between the capital possessed by a sanctioned and unsanctioned producers. Moreover, the legitimation of cultural capital and acquisition of legitimated capital is independent to its bearer due to the relative autonomy of fields in which people enter through competitive terrain where the initial distinction between the capital of an autodidact and legitimate holders of the capital establishes (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 20). Such differentiations showed that although academic credentials are objectified cultural capital yet the legitimation confers its variegated aspects, functions, processes, etc. that generate profits in a field, contribute to enhance the accumulated capital through trajectory i.e. the trajectory of the capital bearers across generations, and fundamentally promises reproduction.

Concisely, embodied form of cultural capital as potential resource distinguishes it from habitus. The indicators of both concepts in empirical researches also revealed their difference.

2.8.3.3 Previous studies on cultural capital

Cultural capital has widely been studied in western societies particularly in Europe and America, whereas, in Asia, Bourdieusian cultural perspective is not popular. Western studies extensively reported positive effect of cultural capital on educational outcome in last three decades (e.g., DiMaggio, 1982; Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999; Dumais, 2002), whereas, developing countries did not contribute in the literature extensively (Buchmann, 2002, p. 134). Several studies reported that cultural capital is correlated with college enrollment such as Kaufman & Gabler (2004) explored the effect of extra-curriculum activities as measure of cultural capital on college enrollment. While controlling for several demographic variables e.g., socioeconomic status, they found that certain cultural activities such as participation in music and art is positively related with college enrollment. They found that children's visit to museum is not related with elite college attendance, but parents' visit is. Dumais (2006) studied

children in early elementary school to evaluate reproduction thesis in America. Interestingly, the study found that cultural capital of children from lower socioeconomic background has positive effect on their educational outcome. Moreover, parents' aspiration for children's higher education – selected as an indicator of parental habitus –strongly effects teacher's evaluation of children academics. The study also suggested that the conventional method to operationalize cultural capital operationalization should be dominated by mediation of habitus.

Besides cultural capital of children, some scholars also studied the effects of grandparents' and parents' cultural capital on children's cultural participation, college enrollment and educational outcome. It is important to note that parent's cultural capital cannot be automatically inherited by their children rather parental practices of cultural capital – Laureats (2003) termed it *concerted cultivation* – transmit their reserved amount of the capital to children. This proposition conditioned and empirically validated by Jæger (2009) with three consecutive processes: (1) parents should have reserved amount of cultural capital (2) to transmit to children (3) who utilize the transmitted capital for educational success. Such implications have been validated in various studies for example, Cheng and Kaplowitz (2016) studied cultural capital of parents and their children's educational outcome in Taiwan. It was found that parent's cultural capital is positively correlated with their socioeconomic status and children's cultural capital. Moreover, parent's cultural capital is also positively associated with children's educational outcome, but the magnitude of effect was lower than the study conducted in western societies. Willekens and Lievens (2014) evaluated reproduction theory by measuring one aspect of the theory i.e. cultural participation of children, as outcome of predictors i.e. species of capitals. Their constructed multilevel model affirmed Bourdieu's reproduction thesis with strong effects of education and age on cultural participation. Møllegaard and Jæger (2015) studied relationship of grandparents' cultural, social and economic capital on grandchildren's educational choice. They identified that grandparents' cultural capital positively effects grandchildren's choice of secondary school education while controlling for parents' economic capital in Danish cultural context.

As empirical evidences tend to validate cultural capital hypothesis, a neglected debate, rooted in Bourdieu's thesis, originated that habitus has been persistently omitted in cultural and educational studies. Therefore, some researchers incorporated habitus in their studies. The direct effect of cultural capital on educational outcome, cultural participation and college enrolment was revisited in terms of mediation model. Gaddis (2013) argued that though habitus has a strong mediating effect on student academic success, it has been neglected in previous

researches on academic achievement, therefore, mediation between cultural capital and academic achievement must be studied. The study found that habitus –measured by future aspiration – mediated cultural capital and academic achievement of students. Similarly, Dumais (2002; 2006) also found mediating role of habitus between cultural capital and educational outcome.

Furthermore, in recent wave of researches on cultural capital, habitus is also modeled with eating patterns, civic engagement and distribution of audience across occupational classes. Kamphuis, Jansen, Mackenbach & Lenthe (2015) studied socioeconomic status (measured by qualification level), cultural capital and food choices. Their study concluded that socioeconomic status is positively correlated with cultural capital. Moreover, cultural capital is related with healthy food choices (or eating) such as selection of healthy bread, meat and snacks products. Previously, the relationship among food, body and capital also theoretically described by Stych (2010) in the field of education. Lewicka (2005) modeled civic activities by selecting cultural capital, neighborhood ties and interest in family roots as direct predictor of the outcome i.e. civic activities, at individual and communal level in Poland. The study concluded that cultural capital and neighborhood ties have a significant direct effect on civic activities at individual and block level. Bennett (2006) identified the social space of broadcasting while arguing that studies on cultural capital neglected television watching, whereas, Bourdieu (1984) also included it as an indicator of cultural capital to signify distinction across occupational groups. The study explored that various programs are related with different occupational classes which were explained in terms of distinction by gender and age differences. The study concluded that audience preferences are distributed among various occupational classes and educational level in the space of broadcasting.

In recent era, conventional characteristic of cultural capital is fading, and new form of attributes are taking place, conceptually and empirically, especially highbrow cultural activities. Conceptually, Tramonte and Willms (2010) divided cultural capital into static and relational cultural capital. The former capital is characterized by goods in possession which are relatively constant or immune to dynamics thus comprised highbrow activities, musical instruments, theater visits etc. The later capital denoted by parents and children discussion reflect relational natures of the capital because the capital signifies its attributes in relational terms. They used data of 28 countries and found that relational or dynamic capital has a strong effect on children's educational outcome than static cultural capital. Gripsrud, Hovden, and Moe (2011) found that modern cultural practices are taking over traditional cultural practices.

They explored that the taste of traditional cultural music e.g., opera, is declining because modern music such as pop and rock increased between 1998 and 2008 (p. 519). Similarly, the taste of reading literature also declined within the same period of time (p. 517).

One of the novel contributions in cultural capital assessment is its interpretation through political regime. Xu and Hampden-Thompson (2012) studied 22 western countries where different political systems prevailed such as America, United Kingdom, Australia, etc., were named liberal countries; Scandinavians territories were titled social democrats; and most of the European countries were tagged corporatists. They found that in these political systems various measures of cultural capital i.e. family educational resources, cultural possessions, cultural communication, cultural activities and books, have a significant effect on Mathematics, reading and Science. Contrary to several studies, their results showed that parental education has no significant effect on independent variables (i.e. reading, mathematics and science) in corporatists and social democratic political regimes. However, the study supported cultural reproduction model in liberal countries due to least involvement of political institution in education whereas, in social democratic and corporatist regimes least evidences of cultural reproduction model was found.

Other developments in the concept also stem from its geographical diversity or variations in cultural codes that effectively serve as currency to be utilized. Buchmann (2002) identified such diversity of cultural codes to be utilized in educational systems that also vary across countries. She incorporated shadow education as one of the indicators of cultural capital in Kenya due to the educational system, socioeconomic status of families, diversities of cultural codes and preferences. Similarly, Yamamoto and Brinton (2010) argued that various conditions where cultural capital effects educational outcome must be studied while stating lack of generalizability of the capital –also evidenced by other researchers e.g., De Graaf et al. (2000) and Dumais (2002) – due to diverse educational systems across the world. Thus, they found varying effects of cultural capital (depends upon its measurement) such as the effect of objectified cultural capital on students' educational achievement depends upon subjective judgment of teachers. Interestingly, regarding parents' economic investment on children's shadow education, they found no effect of objectified cultural capital and direct effect of embodied form on students' final attainment due to standardized educational system of the country (p. 79). In contrast, Byun, Schofer, and Kim (2012) explored negative effects of embodied form and positive effects of objectified form on student achievement in South Korea

while emphasizing, similar to Buchmann (2002) and Yamamoto and Brinton (2010), the educational diversity.

Although, cultural capital effects are evident on education, yet all empirical studies are questionable due to the partial measures of the concept. The restricted measurement of cultural capital confined its evaluation to its limited indicators such as it can be inferred that parental cultural possessions (objectified form) positively affect children's academic achievement but not cultural participation. In other words, measurement of cultural capital has never been exhausted (see Methodology) because mostly it has been limited to education level (e.g., see Prieur, Rosenlund, & Skjott-Larsen, 2008), religious participation (e.g., see Lee, 2009) or other confined tools (e.g., see Lewicka, 2005, 2013; Hatlevik et al., 2015; Møllegaard & Jæger, 2015). Therefore, Kraaykamp and Eijck (2010) studied three forms of cultural capital among parents and their children. It objectified the cultural reproduction rather than bivariate relation between partial measures of the capital and educational outcome. Their study concluded that parents' embodied, objectified and institutionalized forms have a significant effect on their children's embodied, objectified and institutionalized form of the capital (p. 225).

In the context of Pakistan, reproduction thesis has not been dealt at all. However, as described in chapter 1, it was partly studied such as Riaz (2009) and Aslam, Shahzad, Syed, and Ramish (2013) studied Bourdieusian perspective and found significant positive effect of cultural capital on academic outcome. Another study by Riaz, Zafar, Maann, and Ali (2010) found that mothers' institutionalized cultural capital, embodied cultural capital of parents and their children have significant positive effect on academic achievement of children.

Moreover, Ullah and Skelton (2016) studied gender reproduction through education and explained that curriculum of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa specifically representation of sport is designed in a way that it reproduces gender hierarchies. In a comparative study of Punjab Textbook Board (PTB) and Oxford University Press (OUP) curriculum in Punjab, Yaqoob and Zubair (2012) found that those students who study OUP curriculum get easy access to power over those who study PTB curriculum because OUP curriculum is centered around western discourse and being taught in elite schools. Malik (2012) explored how different school systems i.e. English medium, Urdu medium and Deeni Maddaris contribute to reproduce social hierarchies. His study concluded that dominant class tends to transfer and reproduce their power, privilege and prestige through English medium schools and though working and middle class parents invest their economic and cultural capital in their children's education yet their

class conditions remained unable to transfer aspirations of success in children. Interestingly, when Khattak (2014) studied these three mainstream school systems, his findings were consistent with Malik (2012).

2.9 Conversion of capitals

The previous section described conceptual underpinnings and postulates of each capital which provide strong theoretical ground to comprehend their convertibility into each other through strategies that agent uses to enhance or perpetuate their relative position in the society. This section describes the relation among capital with specific focus on their conversion.

Capital serves as currency thus convertible (Walther, 2014, p. 7) or can be exchanged for other capitals that is applicable to all forms of capital. However, the functioning, conservation and conversion of disinterested forms of capitals cannot be understood, on the one hand, without superseding axiomatic modality of economism and semiologism (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 24) and, on the other hand, without understanding their base i.e. economic capital. Bourdieu (1986) said, "…economic capital is the root of all other types of capital" (p. 24) because these capitals i.e. (particularly) cultural and social are disguised form of economic capital.

The conversion of a capital into symbolic capital e.g., legitimation or recognition of cultural capital, is one of the most powerful conversion of a capital because it legitimatizes different forms of capital (Mahar, Harker, & Wilkes, 1990, p. 13). The conversion of educational capital, for example, requires specific amount of symbolic capital because in advance societies the strategies of reproduction are not identical to primitive societies where heredity was prevalent legitimatized strategy of reproduction. The conversion of educational capital into economic capital presupposes time investment that generates economic, cultural and symbolic returns and accrues economic capital of family.

The investment of time, in other words, is a struggle to transfer, conserve, convert and appropriate a capital that exerts particular symbolic power in accordance with field especially when legitimatized by legitimate authority. Therefore, by virtue of the law of conversion of capitals, the conserved capitals supplement a capital targeted to reproduce or convert. The conservation of economic capital supplements the conversion of cultural capital into economic capital because economic capital is more easily convertible than cultural and social capital. However, not all aspects or attributes of each capital can be transmitted from one form to another because cultural and social capital is not equal to property and money, that is to say, that economic capital inherited higher stability (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 196) than symbolic, cultural and social capital.

In other words, economic capital is easier to carry, conserve and convert. Moreover, it is important to note that economic capital in the structure of power relations cannot hold its very function of exchange for goods and services without alliance with symbolic power that it retains to establish its recognition of distinction. Therefore, economic capital holds a kind of power that presupposes obedience, distinction and services to its bearer (Bourdieu, 1986).

2.10 Habitus

Bourdieu does not believe in prevailed separable dualism of sociology that considered society and individual independent to each other. On the one hand, Marx (1904) values structural supremacy over consciousness (p. 11-16), Durkheim ([1982] 2013) asserted functional aspects of society beyond individuals (p. 27), Sassure (1959) introduced structural linguistics, etc., which epistemologically, theoretically and methodologically believed that society is independent to individuals and has its own consciousness or individuals are society-dependent. Further, it is also prominent among several contemporary theorists e.g., Parsons' structural functionalism. On the other hand, some theorists preferred individual consciousness/agency such as Cooley, Mead, Goffman, Garfinkel, etc.

Briefly, the divide of individual and society objectively or micro and macro perspectively or objectivity and subjectivity epistemologically has long been a debate and problem in sociological theory and methodology. Bourdieu attempted to solve such legacies of dualism through his epistemological foundation that individual and society are relational, that is to say, that individual –a socialized body as he preferred to term – and structure are two dimensions of same reality. To build this relational approach theoretically he introduced the concept of habitus for that he claimed, it has solved the most debated structure-agency problem in sociology (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

His concept of habitus has several theoretical influences. It was developed in reaction to structuralism and with the aim to introduce a relational approach in sociology that helped to integrate society with individual. His 'relational' believe is similar to Berger and Luckmann's ([1966] 1991) social construction of reality that argued society creates individual and vice versa, and this statement is not contradictory. In relation to Althusserian Marxism and structuralism of Levis Strauss, he developed his own theory of 'practice' for that, in his early work, he used the term *strategy* to introduce agency within structure (Bourdieu, [1958] 1962). In his early work, he narrated the concept in descriptive way and confronted with problem of relating action with structure.

Partly, strategy is similar to Parson's theory of action that also claimed agent's liberty to act but confined within given structure. To explain the idea of strategy, his study on 'Algerian Kabyle' (Bourdieu, [1958] 1962) made him to introduce "Time" in a simple reciprocity model of gift-exchange of Levis Strauss. He claimed that gift giving also involves time that altered and deffered the gift giving in exchange. Thus, actor's reaction in the principle of reciprocity is not conscious rather strategic that involves time. It is important to mention that strategic action does not refer to rational action, but it is a product of practical sense (Lamaison & Bourdieu, 1986, p. 112) that develops during early socialization. Moreover, the word strategy does not carry the burden of structuralist account on individual as passive actor, the unconscious one. This point can best be exemplified through his study on Kabyle where people, according to him, do not respond to situation rationally rather through sentiments or honor (Bourdieu, [1958] 1962, p. 96). A socialized body internalizes such dichotomy of sentimental actions and reactions through his lifetime experiences of the milieu he has been socialized in. Therefore, the socialization converts into internalization that becomes ingrained dispositions which guides response-behavior in every situation across time and space. These ingrained dispositions are habitus (Bourdieu, 1977a, 1984, 1990b, 1996).

Aristotle used habitus in his concept Hexis – "a way of being that relates both to subjective habituation and to an objective circumstance" (Rodrigo, 2011, p. 6) – and Mauss (1935) introduced it into sociology (Fuchs, 2017, p. 346). However, some scholars believed that Edmund Husserl introduced the term habitus (Cockerham & Hinote, 2009, p. 202), Bourdieu's early conception to deal with the problem of structure and agency and development of the concept of habitus was advanced when he was translated(ing) *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* of Erwin Panofsky (1967) in French (Cited in Swart, 1997, p. 102; Holsinger, 2005, p. 100; Grenfell, 2014, p. 55; Rey, 2014, p. 48). Panofsky was of the view that scholasticism –use of dialectical reasoning in Christian theological tradition from 1100 to 1700 in Europe – in theological schools influenced "mental habits" of actors, these schools were also "habit forming forces". In other words, he was trying to explain that *modus asendi determines modus oprandi* that influenced Bourdieu to develop the idea of habitus. It was also Panosfky's influence that Bourdieu took educational institutions as his basic unit of analysis for habitus formation –that later extended to family and structure – and production and reproduction of culture of inequality (for detailed comparison between Panosfsky and Bourdieu, see Hanks, 2005).

At structural side, the idea also has effects of French structuralism especially of Saussure's distinction between langue (language or rules of language) and parole (speech or use of language) to draw intrinsic cultural grammar. He often characterized habitus with "feel for game" such as Saussure used analogy of chess to signify the rules of chess (langue – modus assendi) and individual ability to use the rules while playing (parole – modus oprandi) –he also used the analogy of chess (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 61) while explaining strategy as different from Sassurian structuralism and structuralism in general (Lamaison & Bourdieu, 1986, p. 113). Therefore, his studies before *Distinction,* considered habitus a mental process, ingrained, predisposed and durable dispositions accumulated through life experiences.

In *Distinction* (1984), habitus became more structured and central reconciling concept between subjectivity and objectivity that he has been proceeding throughout his academic career because he divulged that his project is to explore how individual act without abiding by structure (Bourdieu, 1999c, p. 65). In order to do so, he discovered subjective properties of individuals in relation with objective structure that relates subjective dispositions with objective structure.

Habitus is a property of individual extended to a group that represents similar behavior, taste, feelings, aspirations, etc. Initially, his conceptualization of the concept is what drives actions which is not obvious but in practice. Taking the risk of simplification, he stated, "The habitus is this kind of practical sense for what is to be done in a given situation (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 25)". More often, he also used terms like practical knowledge, feel for the game and sense for the practice to express role of habitus in social space. Therefore, habitus is a subjective position in his social theory of practice that objectified during its externalization. Furthermore, how it contributed in structure-agency dualism to resolve the issue is its bilateral function of constructions and re-construction of the structure where it is constructed.

2.10.1 Opus operatum and modus operandi

His pivotal use of habitus is to dismantle the cycle of circular relations. The ingrained dispositions accumulated within an objective structure tend to endorse degree of opportunities e.g., the socialized actors in advantaged objective structure tend to internalize the advantages of higher degree of success, whereas, socialized bodies from disadvantaged objective structure affect their subjective dispositions of expectations and aspirations. The internalization of conditions of existence legitimizes the inequality. This dimension of habitus, the structured structure, is the function of objective structure that inculcates corresponding expectations and

aspirations to actors. Thus, the bodies socialized within similar objective structure tend to externalize similar habitus. The reproduction of same objective structure is embedded with the relations of structure and practices that Bourdieu signified through circular relation (Walther, 2014, p. 15) because the internalization of the feel for the degree of success and failure functions in deep cultural grammar. This cultural grammar, the matrix of cultural dispositions, produce confirmative practices that tend to reproduce objective structure. In other words, the objective structure would reproduce itself through its subjective consequences. The subjective consequences are habitus driven externalized through practices. Thus, the structured structure function is also structuring structure simultaneously. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990a) asserted,

> "…objective structures produce class habitus and in particular the dispositions and predispositions which, in generating' practices adapted to these structures, enable the structures to function and be perpetuated" (p. 204).

Somewhere else, he endorsed the importance of habitus in reproduction of the objective conditions where it was produced by arguing that

> "…the habitus – the generative, unifying principle of conducts and opinions which is also their explanatory principle, since at every moment of an educational or intellectual biography it tends to reproduce the system of objective conditions of which it is the product" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a, p. 161).

Another important dimension of habitus is the involvement of accumulated capital. Bourdieu formed a simple equation of practice that not only reveals structured structure but also structuring structure.

"{(Capital) (Habitus)} + Field = Practice" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 101)

Somehow, the equation confuses the production of cultural practices more than simplifying it (Swart, 1997, p. 141, in notes). However, it is explicit that practice is not the outcome of habitus only that has been often proposed in *Reproduction* (1990a, p.34, 36, 203). The equation concises the argument that outcome i.e. practice, is determined by structured structure in relation with occupied position within social space that mechanized in a field where actors, importantly homologous, find themselves. As a result, practices are not randomized or

obscured actions rather, implicitly, structured by conditions of existence within a field that tend to reproduce the same objective structure mediated by habitus (see figure 2.6).

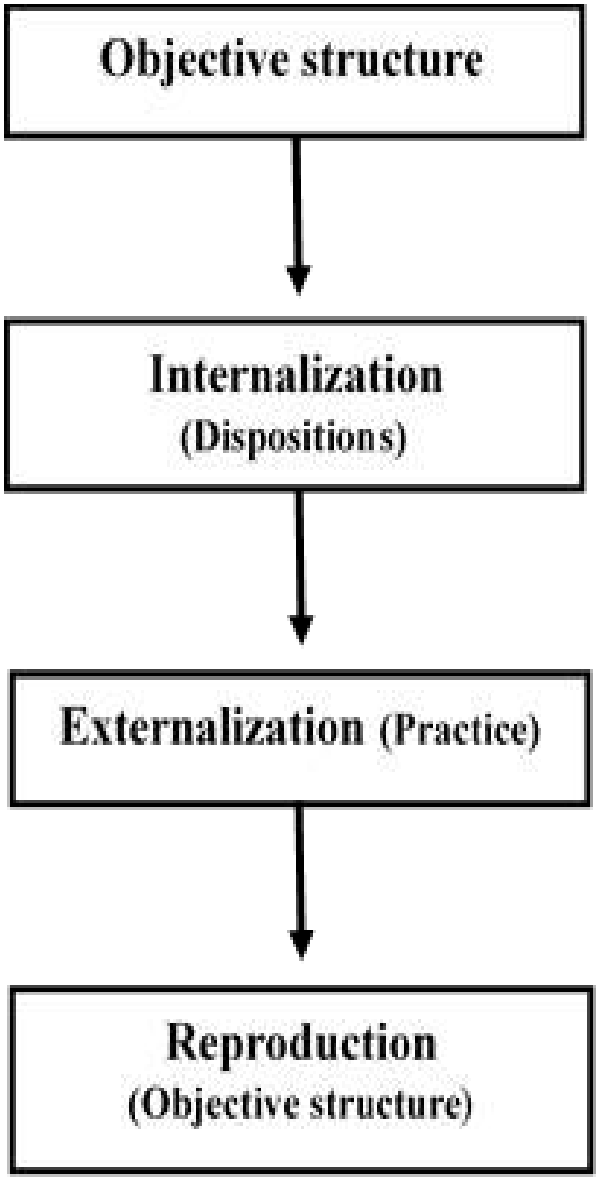

Figure 2.6. Reproduction of objective structure mediated by habitus

One thing should also be noted that Bourdieu does not attempt to establish theoretically that actors are like puppets or their action are rational rather implicit relation of actors and actions with and within structure which has been isolated epistemologically in sociology. In other words, actions are neither rational nor mechanized but habitus driven in relation with other two tools i.e. capital and field. The habitus, thus, on the one hand, *opus operatum or structured* or *result of practices* because it has its own history of accumulation that becomes durable. It is also *modus operandi or structuring or mode of practices* (Walther, 2014, p. 14)

because it is propensity, inclination or dispositions that generate aspirations and expectations, feeling of success and failure and practices that legitimize existing inequality. In *The State Nobility* (1996), he used the terms i.e. opus operatum and modus operandi to reveal how habitus is central subjective contributing factor in order to reproduce the structure through dispositional acts, not rational (p. 274).

The word agency represents micro level analysis, associated with habitus that reveals the liberty of actions. However, in habitus sense, it is not complete liberty rather a confined one due to its 'structured and structuring' function (Tittenbrun, 2011, p. 55). The field designed habitus in accordance with its rules, habitus internalizes these rules that produce practices associated with positions in the same field. The field thus actually control actors' practices but at the same time, the habitus e.g. class habitus – the feel for the game, the understanding of the rules of the game – guides people for "strategic actions". The strategies encompass the liberty of action and choice. Actors from dominate class have choices of different prestigious educational institutions for their children but actors from dominated class do not have the same choices because conditions of existence for both classes are different within the same educational field. However, the restriction is of the rules of the field. The actors may have choices of practice in the same field, yet they are vulnerable to change the rules of the field (Wacquant, 1989, p. 45). Conclusively, habitus does not restrict change rather it is an agent of change. During interview, Bourdieu replied to Wacquant, "*…it [habitus] is durable but not eternal!"* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 133) that showed its mutability. Noble and Watkins (2003) stated that habitus is an open system of dispositions. Similarly, Garrett (2007) asserted that presenting habitus as static entity damages strategic practices, relational logic and interactive actions. To clarify the static-dynamic problem of habitus, Friedmann (2017) found five situations where habitus could change – social mobility, migration, social movements, massive disruption in social order and in late capitalism.

Socialized bodies are actively making history but to comprehend the construction of history by each actor in a distinctive way, it is important to ascertain the history of history constructor that can be traced by theorizing the underlying principle which constructs it. Therefore, habitus as a theory of practice involved to illustrate the very function of history construction and the history it carries with it as Mills (2000) stated that "neither the life of an individual nor the history of the society can be understood without understanding both" (p. 3). Similarly, Bourdieu (1990b) also defined habitus as "embodied history" (p. 56), "a product of

history" (p. 54) and carrier of history (p. 58), therefore, it is not only the product of history but producer of history, not only the producer but carrier of history, not only carrier of individual history but social history as well due to its relation with field. Tittenbrun (2011) described that this function of habitus retains the history of previous generations that makes reproduction possible (p. 55). While explaining the quote of Bourdieu (1990b): "habitus…internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history" (p. 56), Lawler (2015) said that we learn behavior but rarely remembered that we learned it (p. 130).

The habitus is also known as class habitus because the conformity to the rules of the game internalized in primary habitus. The habitus built within family during early socialization, whereas, secondary habitus, produced by other life experiences e.g. in educational institution, is based on primary habitus. Therefore, secondary habitus serves to adapt with the changing contexts within the field but the strategy to adapt as well as struggle for accumulation of capital or reproduction of social position in social space is based upon primary habitus. Although, the habitus – the carrier of individual and social history – has primary relation with practice but the position in social space shapes habitus that builds individual history a relational history. Bourdieu (1993a) asserted that

> "…to understand the practices … entails understanding that they are the result of the meeting of two histories: the history of the positions they occupy and the history of their dispositions" (p. 61).

One misconception about habitus is that it has been considered as cognitive process only, whereas, it is embodied because Bourdieu's project of habitus is an attempt to explain its empirical availability through practices i.e. the way of eating, sitting, standing, speaking etc. that he himself revealed while claiming that society is in the body and body is in the society. Reay (1995) classified the aspects of habitus as embodied, agency, individual history or trajectory and method.

2.10.2 Previous studies on habitus

Although, habitus is too subjective, extensively loaded by theoretical assertions and almost impossible to measure exactly or accurately by one indicator or group of indicators yet researchers took the risk of its operationalization and explored its relationship with other variables within the theoretical framework of Bourdieu.

Horvat and Antonio (1999) extended Bourdieusian theoretical framework by applying organizational habitus in educational organization that revealed how race and class are important factors of differences. They explored that black students are used to encounter symbolic violence in educational organizations, whereas, students of other races e.g. white, used to study together because culture of white students dominate in such organizations. This symbolic violence occurred during the process where individual habitus especially of black student(s) is re-defined and re-created through the enforcement of organizational habitus. Nora (2004) explored that all measures of habitus (i.e. personal acceptance, personal and social fit, early influences, others' approval, family encouragement, academic interests, institution, family expectation) are significantly related with students' decision of college choice and satisfaction at college. Archer et al. (2012) studied how family developed children's habitus and how class in relation with the developed habitus affects science aspiration. Contrary to cognitive explanation of habitus, they found that it forms within family that affects children's science aspiration and career in science. They also found that middle class children are more inclined toward science and working class children are less likely to engage with it.

Dumais (2006) identified mediating role of (parental) habitus in academic achievement of students. The study explored that parental habitus particularly aspiration for children to enroll in college mediates socioeconomic status and academic achievements particularly in Mathematics. In another study, Dumais (2002) identified that effect of habitus on academic achievement remained same in both Ordinary Least Square Regression and Fixed-Effect Model that signified the importance of habitus as potential factor to predict academic achievement of students. Gaddis (2013) explored the effect of habitus on academic achievement of students. He used several regression models to approach the conclusion that (1) habitus is potential mediator of cultural capital and academic achievement and (2), interestingly it has stronger effect on academic achievement than cultural capital which is contrary to the findings of several empirical studies.

Thomas (2002) drew institutional habitus from conceptual and empirical work of Bourdieu and Reay to explain students' retention in higher education. He explored that despite several differences, students tend to retain their higher education by accepting the differences due to the institutional habitus. Holt, Bowlby & Lea (2013) explored alternative form of habitus. Their study identified that young people having emotional differences use emotionally

inter-dependent relationships through leisure activities and familial relationship to acquire social and cultural capital. The study signified that habitus helped to adapt with different environments if altered. However, the question arises that though habitus contributes in college aspiration and achievement, how it deals with students who leave educational institute.

Lehmann (2007), being interested in finding out why students decide to leave university without graduating, explored important role of students habitus which does not make them "feel university" that generates the feeling of inferiority, lack of "fitness", adaptability etc. As a result, they leave their corresponding universities. Newman, Goulding, and Whitehead (2013) analyzed the role of habitus in understanding contemporary art. They concluded that respondents with lower class habitus did not allow them to interpret contemporary art thereby they denied the pictures as art. Whereas, middle class people somewhat associated with contemporary art. They concluded that interpretation of artwork is associated with the accumulated cultural capital and class habitus of the respondents.

Setten (2004) used habitus to answer a critical question of relationship between farmer and landscape in Norway. The study explored that the direct relationship between land and farmer is somewhat impossible but habitus that inculcates the sense of place among farmers guides their relationship. Atalay and Hastorf (2006) studied food habitus in Çatalhöyük community and explored that food habitus is related with building because it makes possible for inhabitants to store, cook and prepare. Moreover, the daily practices of cooking together reproduce food habitus where all families learn food practices (p. 315).

Bauder (2005) utilized habitus to explore barriers immigrants face to adapt with Canadian labor market. The study identified that immigrants from South Asia and Yugoslavia used different strategies to seek employment in Canadian labor market that associated with their habitus. South Asian immigrants used ethnic network to adapt with labor market, whereas, Yugoslavian do not use the strategy. Moreover, Parker (2000) identified incapacity of Bourdieu's habitus in racial hierarchy and introduced diaspora habitus: scheme of perception, appreciation and action which govern everyday practices in diaspora (p. 82).

2.11 Family and reproduction

The debate on family and its functions confuses both terms by treating its functions to define family. Bourdieu (1998) gave a considerable concentration on the issues and pointed out various ambiguous definitions of family. Such as, whether family is an abstract concept, mere a word, or an objective category (p. 64-74). He defined family as "*a set of related individuals linked either by alliance (marriage) or filiation, or, less commonly, by adoption (legal relationship), and living under the same roof (cohabitation)*" (p. 64). However, in the discussion, researcher of the current study treated family in broader perspective that encompasses its structural features as well as process features. The structural features of family include parental education, occupation and socioeconomic status. Number of siblings or family size is also treated as one of the structural features. The process features depict parental expectation, interaction and relation. This definition was adapted from Whiston and Keller (2004).

Reproduction theorists give as much importance to family, especially for early socialization for children, as they give to education (see Bernstein, 1975; Bourdieu, 1984, 1996) because it is a fundamental unit that preserves resources (which, somehow, defines conditions of existence) and transmits to children. Children's education, occupation, income or socioeconomic status cannot stand alone in literature because several previous studies explored that family resources, its structure and type determine children's life chances (McLanahan & Percheski, 2008). This section discussed role of family in social and cultural reproduction.

2.11.1 Marriage and reproduction

The choice of selecting a partner is a choice of social reproduction through marriage. Weber (1978: 364) and Bourdieu (1996: 279) claimed that marriage is one of the strategies of social closure and social reproduction, respectively. They also claimed that marriage is all about economic and symbolic interests –enhancing or maintaining economic status and honor across generations (Lamaison, 1986: 116–17) even in case of love wherein loving other is actually loving one's own destiny (Bourdieu, 1984: 243).

Weber's ([1946] 2010) theory of social stratification signified connubial relationship as a strategy to reproduce power, privilege, prestige and wealth by forming social closure. The closure refers to the process of constructing circle(s) in order to monopolize scarce resources for interests of the members of the circle(s) that in turn form stratification and restrict others to

enter into the circle(s) (Mackert, 2012). Stände are such circles of monopolization. They are characterized by exclusive lifestyle –marked as honor – which represents symbolic cohesion, exclusiveness and distance from others. Such characteristics of Stände, construct circles of similar cultural characteristics (p.146) which could be reproduced through matrimonial strategy e.g. marrying within similar Stände (p. 143). Therefore, homogamy can be perceived as "a form of group closure" (Kalmijn, 1998, p. 396).

Furthermore, theories of marriage (Becker, 1973, 1974, 1981) and reproduction through marriage (Bourdieu, 1984, 1996) primarily focused on educational and occupational dimensions to explain the underlying structure of marriage market, process of partner selection and reproduction of structure of inequality. Although Becker (1973, 1974) and Bourdieu (1990b, 1996) acknowledged profitable returns from marital alliance, yet they are different on epistemological grounds i.e. rational action and habitus –the ingrained, durable and predisposed dispositions (Bourdieu, 1977a, p. 72).

The profitable returns in Becker's (1974) analysis signified economic dimension. However, Bourdieu (1984, 1986, 1990b, 1996) criticized economic reductionism and extended his analysis to other forms of profitable returns. He claimed that misalliance or mismarriage (marrying above or below the rank of family, Bourdieu, 1990b; 1996) is commonly prohibited (Bourdieu, 1996: 274) because it could damage family honor. Therefore, marriage within the same rank of family is a strategy of protecting its relative social position within the structural distribution of positions. Such marital alliance is the protection of established social hierarchies (Bourdieu, 1996: 153). Thus, marriage strategy to perpetuate the family rank across generation is actually the sustainability of the social structure of differentiation. Such sustainability protects and enhances wealth and power of family. He emphasized that agents began to invest in alternative strategy if one would be less successful (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990b, 1996). For example, preference of educational strategy over matrimonial strategy.

Mills (1956) also studied marriage pattern of power elite: the political, economic and military men (p. 276). He stated that power elites marry within their power circle that, as one of the strategies, reproduce their social status across generations. Like Weber ([1946] 2010), he assented that power elites use connubial relationship to reproduce power within their circles (p. 31). Further, like Bourdieu (1984, 1990a, 1996) he stated that they have similar socialization and social origin e.g. education and occupation (p. 270-80).

American and European interpretation of partner selection is based on exchange theory (Blackwell & Lichter, 2004) which stated that individuals bring their personal assets (e.g., education, occupation, attractiveness, etc.) in marriage market and seek partners with similar assets to exchange (Lichter, 1990; Kalmijn, 1998). Studies on homogamy (marry into high-status or equal status, (Kalmijn, 1998, p. 397) interested to explore such exchange. Previous studies evidenced the prevalence of the exchange in western marriage market (Hout, 1982; DiMaggio and Mohr, 1985; Kalmijn, 1994, 1998; Arum et al., 2008; Hu and Qian, 2016; Mäenpää and Jalovaara, 2015). Domański and Przybysz (2007) affirmed educational homogamy (marry or tendency to marry within same educational group, Mare, 2016) in 22 European countries. Further, Smits, Ultee, and Lammers (1999) found occupational homogamy in eight European countries. They defined occupational homogamy as "…the association between the occupation levels of spouses" (p. 56).

However, Asians give considerable importance to consanguinity – marriage with second cousin or closer (Bittles, 2001; Hamamy, et. al., 2011; Hamamy, 2012). Bittles and colleagues (1991; 1993; 1994) found prevalence of consanguinity in Asia (almost 55%). Agha (2016) stated that 20-45% South Indians married with close relatives. Pakistan also has a higher prevalence of the marriage type. Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey 2012-13 revealed that 65.4% women married within family. However, contrary to Europe, individuals prefer caste and ethnicity while selecting a partner (Smits et al., 1999; Agha, 2016; Hussain, 1999; Eglar, 1960; Alavi, 1972). India, Pakistan and Bangladesh are significant examples of in-caste marriages. Banerjee et al. (2013) studied caste-based matching in India and stated the findings as, "…the bride's side would be willing to trade off the difference between no education and a master's degree in the prospective husband to avoid marrying outside their caste… we see little interest in "marrying up" in the caste hierarchy among both men and women, but a strong preference for in-caste matching" (p. 35).

Ahmed (1986) stated that caste is the first criterion of mate selection of Hindu and Muslims of Bangladesh because parents decide the mates for their children. Usman and Amjad (2013) explored the increasing trend of in-caste marriages in rural Punjab of Pakistan. Fischer (1991) studied Greentown, Lahore, and explored that 85% of the marriages in the area were in-caste marriages.

The difference in preferences of mate selection characteristics between Western and South Asian societies can be explained through the differences in their openness, whereby, two

factors are considerably important to focus upon. First, Western societies have higher number of educational institutes with coeducation, a potential marriage market (Lewis and Oppenheimer, 2000). Second, parents have least control on partner selection for children which define openness of a society. However, Asia (especially India, Bangladesh and Pakistan) have lesser number of educational institutes with co-education and parents have high control on partner selection process for children, particularly, for females (Desai and Andrist 2010; Ghimire et al. 2006; Allendorf and Thornton, 2015). The lack of availability of coeducation institutions reduces the chances of selecting a partner with similar education and (future) occupation. The high control of parents on selecting a partner decreases the probability of exogamy (marriage out of family) and free marriage market because parents highly preferred to perpetuate their bloodline through consanguinity – marriage with second cousin or closer (Bittles, 2001; Hamamy, 2012). Therefore, in Asia, consanguinity is the most preferred marriage type of parents for their children that they abide by due to cultural and religious impositions. This implies the propensity of homogamy in Western and Asian societies, but they are distinctive in preferences of mate section characteristics.

Although consanguinity and endogamy widely practiced in South Asia, recent studies revealed that educational and occupational homogamy is also increasing (Ross 1961; Corwin 1977; Jones, 2010; Farooq, Kayani, and Ahmad, 2015). This showed that two modes of homogamy i.e. cultural and exchange, exist in South Asia simultaneously. The cultural mode of homogamy (CMH) refers to preferring cultural values, customs, religion, caste, ethnicity, race etc. to select a partner in marriage market. The exchange mode of homogamy (EMH) implies the preference of potential assets to select a partner to perpetuate or enhance the relative social position in society.

Previous studies evidenced the prevalence of CMH in Pakistan (Shami et al., 1994; Hussain and Bittles, 1998; Hussain, 1999; Usman and Amjad, 2013; Makino, 2015; Agha, 2016). However, firstly, such studies primarily focused on endogamy, consanguinity and correlates of marriage e.g. violence (Ali et al., 2011; Murshid, 2017; Nasrullah et al., 2014) and decision-making (Hamid et al., 2011; Naz et al., 2017). Secondly, although social reproduction was studied in the country (e.g. Ullah, 2015, 2016), marriage as its strategy has been neglected. Thirdly, reproduction through modes of homogamy have rarely been focused (see appendix 2, page 411, for analysis of modes of homogamy and reproduction).

Bourdieu developed his reproduction theory by extending Weber's theory of stratification and Marx's theory of capitals (Brubaker, 1985, p. 747). He defined social reproduction as "reproduction of relations between classes" (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 54). Educational system reproduces these relations by reproducing labor with highbrow cultural capital –that is, behavior, possessions and dispositions of upper class. The reproduction of labor with highbrow and lowbrow cultural capital contributes to perpetuate relative positions of agents in social space of positions (Bourdieu, 1984). Consequently, educational meritocracy is a myth (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 05; Bowles & Gintis, 1976, p. 269) because schools prefer to enroll and retain those students who have already accumulated cultural capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990b; Karabel, 2005). Plethora of studies found reproduction of social structure of inequality through education or educational system (Cheadle, 2008; Crook, 1997; De Graaf, De Graaf, & Kraaykamp, 2000; DiMaggio & Mohr, 1985; Dumais, 2002; Farkas et al., 1990; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 1996; Katsillis & Rubinson, 1990; Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999; Sullivan, 2001; Van de Werfhorst & Hofstede, 2007).

Van Bovels (2012) stated, "Understanding educational assortative mating is essential to understand the reproduction of social inequality in modern societies" (p. 133). Previous studies revealed that education is a prime factor of reproduction of inequality (Mare, 2000). Therefore, it has key importance in studying educational homogamy (Nielsen & Svarer, 2009) in relation with reproduction of inequality (Kalmijn, 1998). Evidences show that parents prefer good educational institutes for their children to perpetuate social position of family (Bourdieu, 1984, 996, 1990a; Blau & Duncan, 1967; Scott, 1965). Interestingly, majority of the individuals find partner from their educational institutes (Fu & Heaton, 2008; Kalmijn & Flap, 2001; Mills, 1956). Therefore, the institution becomes marriage market for educational homogamy (Nielsen & Svarer, 2009). Thus, educational institution and educational homogamy are indispensable to study social reproduction.

Educational homogamy cumulates cultural and economic resources of couples (Blossfeld 2009, p. 515). Thus, it not only potentially contributes to maintain the relative cultural and economic positions of agents but also increases the chances of higher cultural and economic status of children (Bourdieu, 1984; 1996; Hwang, Saenz & Aguirre 1995). Therefore, educational homogamy perpetuates social positions of agents across generations. The increasing educational homogamy in marriage market is strengthening reproduction of inequality and openness of society (Blackwell & Lichter, 2000, 2004; Hamplova, 2009;

Kalmijn, 1991a, 1991b, 1998; Mare, 1991; Qian & Preston, 1993; Smits, Ultee, & Lammers 1999; Ultee & Luijkx, 1990; Schwartz & Mare, 2005; Schwartz, 2013; Domański & Przybysz, 2007).

Similar to educational homogamy, chronological review of previous studies revealed that occupational homogamy has also been evidenced across decades. O'Higgins (1982) explored that individuals preferred to marry within their occupational groups i.e. higher and lower. Hout (1982) found that relationship between occupations of husbands and wives is symmetrical. Hayes (1993) found significant positive interaction between occupations of husbands and wives. Smits, Ultee, and lammers (1999) concluded that pattern of occupational homogamy is almost similar across eight European countries. Similar to Hout (1982), they explored overrepresentation of couples in which spouses have same occupational groups. Further, similar to O'Higgins (1982), Schumacher and Lorenzetti (2005) found highest prevalence of occupational homogamy across extreme ends of social hierarchy. They explored that highest and lowest level occupations (i.e. professionals and factory workers, respectively) have highest parameters of occupational homogamy.

Furthermore, classical and recent studies established the fact that education and occupation are interrelated because the former provides higher chances of employment and the latter increases the probability of higher socioeconomic status (Krippner, 1963; Blau & Duncan, 1967; Crouch, & Miller, 1977; Bourdieu, 1984, 1996; Karabel, 2005). Therefore, occupational homogamy with higher education of spouse increases the odds of reproduction of the social hierarchies across generation. The evidences of stability of assortative mating (Cutrona et al., 2003; Stanley, Amato, Johnson, & Markman, 2006; Amato, Booth, Johnson, & Rogers, 2007; Rauer, Karney, Garvan, & Hou, 2008) also supported the proposition of reproduction of social hierarchies. Jones (1987) stated that homogamy potentially contributes in formation of social hierarchy. Thus, we hypothesized that occupational status determines the exchange mode of homogamy because it is a potential determinant of socioeconomic status as well as class (Goldthorpe, & Hope, 1974; Goldthorpe, 1980; Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992; Bourdieu, 1984; Wright, 197; Wright & Perrone, 1977).

Although, education have been found most vital factor of marital selection among women (Ganguli et al., 2014; Kalmijn, 1994; Smits and Park, 2009) yet occupation has always been considered while selecting a partner in Asian countries (Banerjee et al., 2013; Chowdhury and Trovato, 1994). However, these two factors have least importance in consanguinity,

especially, in rural areas wherein ethnicity or caste is most important determinant (Agha, 2016; Hussain, 1999; Hussain and Bittles, 1998; Shami et al., 1994) due to the fact that consanguinity does not aim to reproduce structure of social positions but ethnicity or caste does. Therefore, we hypothesized that ethnicity is more potential determinant of consanguinity than occupation and education.

Consanguinity intended to explore family or community structure of solidarity in a marriage market. Although, empirical findings of various studies supported theoretical assertions of these theories (e.g. DiMaggio and Mohr, 1985; Hu and Qian, 2016) yet the same market has not been taken into account to explore determinants of reproduction and consanguinity simultaneously. The present study attempted to get insight of these bipolar extremes of the same marriage market across multiple times (for an assessment of the assertion in relation with modes of homogamy, see appendix 2, page 411). Such analysis, on the one hand, explored the reproduction through occupational and cultural dimensions and, on the other hand, identified the role of these two-dimensional models and ethnicity in consanguinity within the a marriage market.

2.11.2 Parents and children resources

Studies on family and children resources attempted to signify how family affects children's education (e.g. selection of institution, retention, outcome etc.), occupation (e.g. career selection, occupational attainment, etc.), income, and other resources such as social capital. First, researcher discussed the relationship between parental and children resources. Second, he described how family resources tend to reproduce themselves through various strategies.

Haveman and Wolfe (1995) and Smith, Brooks-Gunn and Klebanov (1997) asserted that parental education is important for positive outcome of children. In the past two decades, the proposed relationship did not extinct (Dearing, McCartney, & Taylor, 2001; Nagin & Tremblay, 2001). Plethora of studies explored that parental education is significantly positively associated with children's educational outcome (Lan, 2004; Kean, 2005; Sirin, 2005; Gerardi, 2011; Kassim, Kehinde, & Abisola, 2011; Ogunshola & Adewale, 2012; Buis, 2013). In recent years, Davis-Kean (2005) introduced and examined a model of children achievement. The model examined mediating role of parent's belief and behavior between parent's education (and income) and achievement of children (see Gooding, 2001, for 19th century review).

Moreover, researchers explored positive association between parental involvement and educational outcome of children (Baker & Stevenson, 1986; Kohl, Lengua, & McMahon, 2000; Fan & Chen, 2001; Henderson & Mapp, 2002; Mapp, 2003; Mahuro & Hungi, 2016). The meta-analysis by Hill and Tyson (2009) on 50 researches concluded that parental involvement is associated with positive outcome of children. Similarly, Jeynes (2012) conducted meta-analysis on 51 studies of parental involvement and children outcome. The study found positive correlation between different kinds of parental involvement and children outcome. Interestingly, Wilder (2014) examined meta-synthesis (meta-analysis of meta-analysis studies) of nine meta-analysis studies and found positive relationship between parental involvement and academic achievement (see Desforges & Abouchaar, 2003; Jeynes, 1999; 2002, 2003a, 2003b; 2005, 2007, 2010).

Classical studies have established the fact that family or parental resources are also associated with occupational status of children (e.g., Krippner, 1963; Blau & Duncan, 1967). Sinclair, Crouch, and Miller (1977) found relationship among social class, gender and career selection. Schulenberg, Vondracek, and Crouter (1984) found that socioeconomic status of family affects individual career selection and occupational status. Mortimer (1974, 1976) concluded that children are highly likely to select the occupation of their father (see Whiston & Keller, 2004 for review of literature). Parental education and occupation also contribute in occupational attainment of children. Johnson et al. (1983) found that parents' education and father's occupation determines children occupational status. Model of Grolnick and Slowiaczek (1994) proposed that children performance and parental involvement mediates by children resources i.e. motivational resources such as self-regulation and perceived competence. Caspi, Wright, Moffitt, and Silva (1998) explored that unemployment of children is associated with low-level occupational status of the parents. Moreover, some studies combined these factors and explored relationship between socioeconomic status of family with academic achievement of children (Duncan, O., Featherman and Duncan, B., 1972; White, 1982; McLoyd, 1998; Sirin, 2005).

Focusing on family and education of children, various models have been developed by educationists, psychologists, economists and sociologists. In recent years, researchers advanced such relationship by introducing more factors between structural features of family and occupation and education of children. Dubow, Boxer, and Huesmann (2009) developed a longitudinal model that dealt with parental resources at early age of children and its effect on

their education at 48 years of age. The model found indirect significant effect of family resources (e.g. parents' education and occupation) through educational and occupational aspiration (and other factors such as aggression) on education of children. Linver, Brooks-Gunn, and Kohen (2002) and Yeung, Linver, and Brooks-Gunn (2002) used family process model which seeks to identify how family environment or parental behavior affects achievement of children (see Conger et al., 2002; Mistry, Vanderwater, Huston, & McLoyd, 2002, for family process model; see Coleman, 2018 for detail on parental involvement). Erola, Jalonen, and Lehti (2016) introduced a model of occupational status of children in adulthood. They found that parental education explains children's occupation more than parental income, and father's resources strongly related with children's outcome than resources of mother.

Moreover, family, its structure and resources can also be viewed with the effects of individualism, modernization, globalization, feminism etc. that changes the family structure and new form of families such as cohabitation emerged. Previous studies examined the differences of children's life chances who live with and apart from parents. Studies explored that living with parents increases the chance of high resources among children (McLanahan & Percheski, 2008) or their upward mobility (Amato, 2005). On the contrary, single parent family decreases the chances of access to education because it is linked with lower economic advantages (McLanahan & Percheski, 2008), whereas, family with high economic status invests in education of children (Bradley & Corwyn, 2002; Linver et al., 2002; Duncan & Magnuson, 2003). However, if children from single parent family manages to enroll in school or college, it increases the chances of dropout or low academic achievement (Astone & McLanahan, 1994; Pong, Dronkers, & Hampden-Thompson, 2003; Amato, 2005; Brown, 2010).

Studies also linked such life chances with adulthood issues. Leaving home in early age increases the tendency of childbearing in the early age among females. Because leaving apart also decreases the chances of high economic status, therefore, lower socioeconomic status increases the chances of instability of relationship or marital stability (Cutrona et al., 2003; Stanley, Amato, Johnson, & Markman, 2006; Amato, Booth, Johnson, & Rogers, 2007; Rauer, Karney, Garvan, & Hou, 2008). Previous studies showed that families with high socioeconomic status are more stable than families with lower socioeconomic status (Karney & Bradbury, 2005; Duncan, Huston, & Weisner, 2007; Popenoe, 2007). In results, single motherhood or parenthood produce lower life chances for children (Johnson & Mazingo, 2000; Gruber, 2004)

such as access to education and occupation. Lastly, low-level education and occupation produce low income that, in turn, establishes lower socioeconomic status.

However, these and several other models (e.g., Hill et al., 2004; Buchmann & DiPrete, 2006; Green, Walker, Hoover-Dempsey, & Sandler, 2007) primarily focused on what factors contribute in education of children including occupational attainment instead of how family attempts to reproduce such resources.

The models or theories that deal with reproduction of resources in relation with family, attempted to reveal interconnected role of resources. For example, theories of reproduction have consensus on family and education as vital interdependent units of reproduction of resources. However, their role was taken with particular focus such as Bernstein stressed on transition of codes, Bowel and Gintis on hidden curriculum and Bourdieu on resources (monetary and non-monetary). As Althusser believed in reproduction of labor through education, similarly Bowel and Gintis claimed the hidden curriculum reproduces labor with differential skills. However, Bourdieu's perspective is gigantic. He focused on overall structure of inequality instead of mere reproduction of labor. His theory dismantles interdependency of family and education to reproduce overall structure of inequality. The following section explains Bourdieu's perspective of education in detail so that its role in reproduction in broader theoretical framework can be comprehended as well as its relation with family and capitals in order to reproduce the structure of inequal distribution of resources.

2.12 Education and reproduction

"The structure of social space as observed in advanced societies is the product of two fundamental principles of differentiation – economic and cultural – the educational institution, which plays a critical role in the reproduction of the social space, has become a central stake in the struggle for the monopoly on dominant positions".

Pierre Bourdieu
The State Nobility, 1996, p. 5

Several theorists argued that education is a prime factor of social reproduction (Althusser, [1971] 2014; Bernstein, 1975; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990b; Bourdieu, 1984; 1996). Althusser ([1971] 2014) and Bowles and Gintis (1976) filled the gap in Marxist theory of reproduction by incorporating educational system in reproduction of capitalist relations. They argued that education system reproduces labor power to exploit in capitalism. The correspondence principle of Bowles and Gintis (1976) introduced relation between education and occupation in terms of the reproduction of social hierarchy. The principle stated that individuals are socialized in educational institutes in accordance with the demands of capitalist market. Althusser ([1971] 2014) also pointed out that educational system –the dominant ideological apparatuses (p.142) –tends to reproduce establish social hierarchy. Similarly, Bernstein (1975) claimed that schools reproduce inequality (p. 26). Bourdieu arrived on the same conclusion by developing his reproduction theory, extending Weber's theory of stratification and Marx's theory of capitals.

He defined social reproduction as "reproduction of relations between classes" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a, p. 54). Educational system reproduces these relations by reproducing labor with highbrow cultural capital. The reproduction of labor with highbrow and lowbrow cultural capital contributes to perpetuate relative positions of agents in social space of positions (Bourdieu, 1984). Briefly, educational meritocracy is a myth (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, p. 269; Bourdieu, 1996, p. 05) because schools prefer to enroll and retain those students who have already accumulated cultural capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a; Karabel, 2005).

Plethora of studies found reproduction of social structure of inequality through education or educational system (DiMaggio & Mohr, 1985; Farkas et al., 1990; Katsillis & Rubinson, 1990; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 1996; Crook, 1997; Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999; De Graaf et al., 2000; Sullivan, 2001; Dumais, 2002; Van de Werfhorst & Hofstede, 2007; Cheadle, 2008).

Education is a central field of analysis in Bourdieu's empirical researches e.g., *Distinction* (1984), *Homo Academicus* ([1984] 1988), *Reproduction* (1990a), *The State Nobility* (1996). His initial work on educational field drew theoretical assertions that he attempted to validate via empirical researches such as *Reproduction* majorly focused on students, teachers and education to explain why cultural capital is more important to enter and to be successful in education, how pedagogic practices are intrinsically align with symbolic violence and most importantly the reproduction of culture capital.

In *Reproduction*, three functions of education were identified. Drawing upon the ideas of Durkheim i.e. educational institution is a system to conserve history, Bourdieu claimed conservation, inculcation and consecration as the functions of educational system (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a, p. 198). However, his explanation implied that though education has relative autonomy, as Durkheim also argued, it must be studied in relational mode of analysis. The relational mode refers to the relation of a system with external systems such as educational system is related with dominant class because the function of inculcation is implication of cultural and social reproduction –the second function. The first function i.e. conservation, also implies relative autonomy of educational field which reveals that the field is neither passive nor active in its functions completely but relatively. Such relativity also means that educational institution conceals the fact that it prefers culture of dominant class that students are supposed to acquire before entering the institution. Such preference defines inclusion / exclusion criteria and meritocracy of these institutions that explains the retention of students from dominant class and failure of lower class students. In one sense, the inclusion criteria for students in school is meritocratic but the preferred meritocracy is bourgeois meritocracy, therefore, if somehow, lower class students managed to enter into prestigious educational system, they are highly likely to drop out because of their lower class habitus.

Apart from conservation and inculcation, consecration is another important function that is specifically characterized with elite schools (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a, p. 102). The acquisition of the title of consecrated is intensive process of competition that demands to be

prepared accordingly. Such preparation is construction of certain dispositions and practices, different view of the world, acknowledgment and performance of the doctrine that "every man is for himself" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a, p. 87). In other words, consecration is another name of nobility that educational system marks on students through their classification. The classification of students selected for nobility and rejected for indignity in academic sense, is division of mentalities. The selected are ready to be academically baptized.

The education system, in this regard, produces academically segregated bodies which are products of segregation. They were trained to be privileged and honored that they practice in their jobs as their social duty. One of the important aspect of such consecration through segregation of aggravated students is symbolic power, the power assigned to them and they recognized being through the process of training for symbolic and actual distinction as Bourdieu (1996) quoted a teacher of mathematics while motivating a student, "…you're the privileged one" (p. 93). Therefore, the imperative aspect of the transmission or development of dispositions is not associated with content taught to the students but pedagogic actions (p. 84). The exclusive groups of consecrated students give them symbolic power and when such groups sustain their status quo across generations, it monopolizes symbolic power. He claimed, "*the monopoly*, when recognized, is converted into a *nobility*" (p. 79).

The miracle children in the defined system of education are highly likely to conform the explicit and implicit rules of the systems and least likely to alter them because they have been engaged with the system since their early age particularly children from dominant class which implies that their dispositions are best fitted to the system they supposed to strengthen and reproduce. Thus, the title they are marked with, the exclusiveness of their trajectory of training, the sacrifices of relationships they made, or most importantly keeping distance from common people, etc., make them win the title of "the consecrated". Surprisingly, Bourdieu claimed that the title they are marked with e.g., noble, pertains symbolic power which never depleted in their whole life and they maintain to attain advantages from it (p. 114).

The reproduction function is of great importance in his thesis that explained by dismantling the absolute or complete autonomy deception of educational systems where the external demands are related with its essential principles of inculcation i.e. the transmission of class relations, conservation of history of class relations and legitimation (third function) of its autonomy that it conceals. Thus, the education system tends to actualize social order of stratification i.e. class differences, thereby, he labeled school system perceived as door to

success, a myth (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 5). Hence, the transmission of cultural capital is function of reproduction of cultural hierarchies, so is the social stratification (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a, p. 198). However, *Reproduction* (1990a) did not pertain principles and structure, objectively, of the field. This shortcoming was eliminated in *Homo Academicus* ([1984] 1988) and *The State Nobility* (1996).

In the latter book, Bourdieu (1996) studied French educational system incorporating field of education, its underlying principles and structure. Interestingly, his analysis affirmed dominant and second principle of hierarchy in the field of education. Prior to the description of the structure, mechanism and principles of educational structure, one point is worth noting that he was interested in relational schemes of internal and external structure that he explained as suggestion in the first chapter of *The State Nobility* (1996). The internal structure i.e. habitus, is related with the investment of agents and is too subjective that makes it least plausible to substantiate through empirical methods, therefore, he called on theoretical assertions as tool for explanatory schemes. The second structure e.g., educational field, is objective structure of relations e.g., relation of practices. The novelty that he incorporated in his research is the relational analysis of subjective with objective structure that tends to reproduce through this relational integration.

2.12.1 Field of education

Like cultural field, educational field also has a relative autonomy that explains its several features in relation with external influences (that effect its interests) and its ability to restrain the effects simultaneously. In other words, relative autonomy of the field is matter of simultaneous existence of two opposite legacies that affects each other while struggling to maintain their interests where utilization of various strategies becomes an integral part of the game.

The field of education, in order to protect its interests, protects its scholastic capital to perpetuate the interests that it ensures by monopolization of trainings, promotions, recruitment, etc. Such monopoly ensures its self-reproduction because the inter-relational mechanism in the field prefers to transmit its legacy across generations, such as humanitarian legacy in France, which although well served and generated scholastic capital yet remained contrary to the labor market demands. Bourdieu explained that educational policy modification in last thirty years in France is more inclined to the labor market and other modern purposes that showed external influences over educational system, yet the system ensures its relative autonomy through self-

reproduction. In this sense, the relative autonomy also reflects its dependency in terms of degree, as the word relative revealed its degree of autonomy.

Another important aspect of his educational theory is the assertion of strong relationship between type of educational institute and employment, and exploration of objective relations within the field (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 132). He was of the view that type of education and educational institution determines the type of employment such as students from *grandes ecoles* work in most prestigious government jobs especially politics, administration and policymaking. Grandes ecoles comprised various institutes: Ecole Polytechnique prepares students to hold military and political positions. To serve the nation through education, Ecole Normale Superieure is the best option. Ecole des Hautes Commerciales and Ecoles des mines deliver commerce and industrial men (Bourdieu, 1996, 131-87).

Although, educational curriculum and pedagogic actions have a vital role in the development of particular habitus yet the types of cultural (and economic capital) are unneglectable because, as he repeatedly claimed, that these capitals or their forms are also associated with the aspiration of students which, indeed, associated with institutionalized cultural capital. Therefore, majority of the students in grandes ecoles are mostly from advantaged background because they have already accumulated the amount of capital the institute presupposed its students to have. In this sense, educational system is associated with the forms of capital, habitus and advantages of students that connect its process with wider social context, that is to say, the system is producing what they are product of: stratification.

In these brands of education, precocity is appreciated, erudite is considerable but style to the content really matters the most, proclivity to art is not enough but its taste, omnivoreness of musical genre is one of the indications of highbrow taste membership, etc. Interestingly, all these are qualities that prestigious educational system presupposes its students to acquire before entering into the institutions – in case of prestigious education students have already acquired presupposed capital (Bourdieu, 1996, p.136) – actually facilitates its transmission. In other words, other than the transmission of institutional cultural capital such schools also legitimize highbrow practices that accrue students' symbolic capital. Therefore, distinction is not only the matter of economic capital but contrary to Marxism, conservation, consumption, consecration and commonality of symbolic and cultural capital as well.

The field of higher education is characterized by *double structural homology* that distinguished universities from grandes ecoles and the "homology of fundamental opposition"

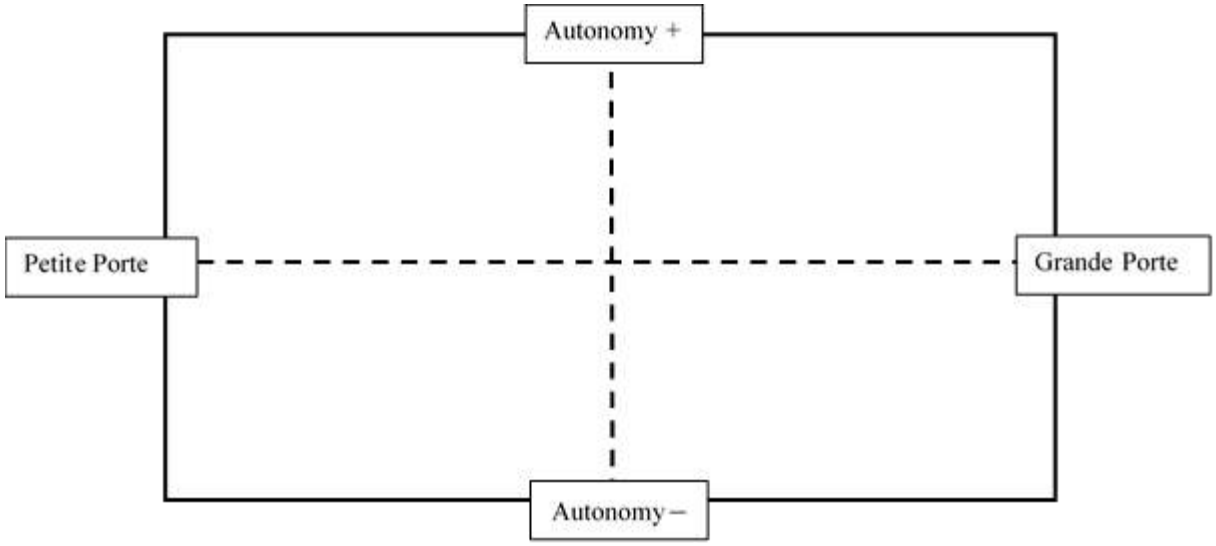

Figure 2.7. The space of institutions of higher education. [Adapted from *The State Nobility*, 1996, p. 145]

within the field of grandes ecoles (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 136. As he explored in French context, children from bourgeois families enrolled in grandes ecoloe that designed to produces "cadre for the nation" (Grenfell, 2007. p. 141). However, children from petite bourgeois families prefer petites ecoles that serve the nation through the production of middle management. Their work marks the distinction between their activities, either mental or physical, and tend to reproduce the distinction such as grande porte and petite porte's distribution of its agents based on two dimensions: conception and execution or theory and practice or non-manual and manual workers (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 151).

Surprisingly, such production and reproduction was not only contemporary of his time rather it shares similarity with ancient regime like educational system of pre-French Revolution where religious education was prominent and its established mode of production of students through conservation of history; and its transmission was prevalent. He often spoke of education analogous to religion such as in case of separating students from masses and consecration of these destined to rule, are identical to sacred and profane distinction because the educational system, using its relative autonomy, authorized itself to define competences through consecration.

Briefly, he asserted and explored the hierarchy of schools with respect to their mode of production of students and what they are intended or designed to produce, is correspondent to the hierarchy of students stem from their social status and class e.g., students from advantaged family background are students of the institutions that ensures their privileged destiny. More

precisely and profoundly, the system of classification can only be comprehended through the understanding of entire field of education –in Bourdieusian sense, entire field of institutions of higher education –which can also be comprehended through the division of labor with its correspondence to schools or relational understanding of schools and occupation or occupational trajectory (see figure 2.7). Moreover, the symbolic effect and difference through education that legitimatize the differences in the form of differentiated students, or consecrate those who already consecrated, is again the function of education to reproduce classification that already exists. In this sense, the boundary between consecrated (holders of nobility title and legitimate) and not consecrated (the spectator of the game of capital accumulation or ensure least participation in the game due to the least amount of conserved capital required to play or to struggle to accumulate more) is cultural boundary or as in case of education is institutionalized cultural boundary. Thus, such process of production and reproduction of classification is a process of the effect of classification already exists even within the field of the education that is characterized by schismatic structure: the inverse relationship between dimensions of educational space (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 152).

2.12.2 Education, Habitus and Cultural Capital

Moreover, when the debate of education as facilitator of class reproduction comes to its analysis, he calls on his concepts of habitus, capital and field as was in the field of cultural production. However, these concepts are always relational thus have least explanatory power in themselves without relational explanation of structure of social space as he suggested that in order to comprehend the nature of objects in themselves, we need to ponder upon social structure. Therefore, he explored the double structure of homology in the field of higher education because it explains the relational mechanism of internal structure of higher educational classification with external structure of classification. The relational mechanism reveals how social classification or structural effect reproduces itself through education which itself is internally classified as he described classification of knowledge i.e. general and specialized, in such institutions. While explaining structure of relations between structure of distribution of cultural and economic capital, he introduced two diametrical principles, which define system of higher education: (a) the dominant hierarchy within and (b) outside the educational system (Bourdieu, 1977b, p. 64-5). These principles regulate reproduction theses of structure of relations between dominant fractions in higher educational system.

The important account of habitus and structure depicts that structural effect on aspiration, selection of school and academic success is mediated by habitus and cultural capital because aspirations are not rational and conscious rather dispositional. The subjective aspirations are related with objective probabilities, that is to say, that the conditions of existence, the materially determined probabilities or chances, conditioned with class structure that construct habitus –the subjective aspirations. Children from upper class aspire of success in schools because these subjective hopes are result of their surroundings and their class structure, that is why the notion of *self-selection* is another important concept in Bourdieusian perspective on education.

The self-selection is class base subjective ambitions, aspirations and probability of success in education, whereby, children from lower class background internalize limited opportunities for themselves and highly likely to drop-out or leave the institution, whereas, upper class children retain their academic career and highly likely to pursue their career they have already been internalized through socialization process in family. Therefore, the academic selection is function of self-selection. However, self-selection or subjective hope is not the matter of habitus only because its construction is conditioned with class structure or valued currency in the field. Cultural capital is mostly valued currency invested by families in their children.

As each field has its corresponding valued capital, cultural capital is most valued capital in the educational field. Therefore, parents transmit their conserved cultural capital to children that helps them seek their academics and career successfully because teachers admire those students who have this capital. However, students from lower class background lack the capital because their parents did not conserve the required amount of the capital to transmit to their children that could help them seek their academics successfully. Therefore, their academic retention is lower than upper class students. The interplay of lower class structure, habitus, cultural capital and conditions of existence reveal that the selection, retention and success in school in not the matter of rational actions but dispositional.

2.13 Class reproduction: The Magnum Opus

The debate of social reproduction –specifically class reproduction – is initiated by Marx's analysis of capital reproduction through circulation of capital (see section 'Capital' for detail), whereby, the advancement of capital involves money, commodities, means of production and labor power appropriated by capitalist to generate more capital, somewhat disguised in commodities in capitalist mode of production, by appropriating all factors involve in the circulation. He asserted that the process of production must perpetuate itself in order to survive but, surprisingly, it is not only the production and reproduction of the capital in the process of production rather it is labor as well who has to reproduce its value by transmitting it into commodity through labor process in order to perpetuate.

The first stage of circulation M – C, the purchased labor power and means of production $M - C <^{L}_{MP}$, is the conversion of money into productive forms –factors capable to produce a product, but the labor involves in the production process must convert its labor power or value of labor power into commodity which, simultaneously, advances the value of the commodity $C - C'$. Therefore, on the one hand, labor must convert and reconverts the value they have, and, on the other hand, the capitalist must produce and reproduce the process of production through circulation of capital. Thus, the wage of labor is the value they already converted into commodity; they are merely taking the share from the product they produced in the process of production.

The process of *conversion* is not much explained in *Capital: Vol. I* (1887) the second volume of *Capital* ([1885] 1956), explained the process in detail in three stages of capital conversion or three circuits of capital which are as follow:

1. *Commodity capital*: where commodity (contains surplus value) in the form of capital converted into money that reproduces commodity capital advanced or value added commodity. This circuit is expressed through $\boldsymbol{C' - M' - C'}$.
2. *Money capital*: where money converted into commodities –labor power and means of production – that produces commodity that, in turn, reproduces money capital or money value advanced. The conversion denoted by $\boldsymbol{M - C <^{L}_{MP} - C' - M'}$.
3. *Productive capital*: where means of production and labor power produces a commodity that converted into money through sale in the market and the money again reinvested in means of production and labor power. The notion of this circulation is ($\boldsymbol{P = C <^{L}_{MP} - C' - M' - C' - P'}$.

The first two circuits belong to the circulation of capital and the last process denotes production of capital sphere. One important aspect of these circuits is that capital is being advanced by materialization of labor power. In *simple reproduction*, the value advanced and wages of labor power are subject to consumption i.e. luxury necessities and means of subsistence for capitalist and workers respectively, of capitalist and worker, whereby, the process is merely the perpetuation of the process of production. Moreover, at the consumption side, laborer consumes at productive i.e. the use of means of production for value addition in commodities, and individual level i.e. the materialization of labor power, which secures the means of subsistence. However, individual consumption also serves as reproduction strategy of labor power thus it is also productive consumption, and the reproduction of labor at the same time is accumulation of labor power or skills transmitted from one generation to the next.

The issue with simple reproduction is its inability to expand capital due to its function of consumption of surplus value. Although, it perpetuates the process of production but after a certain period, the surplus value being consumed would be equal to the capital invested, therefore, *expanded reproduction* must be preferred over simple reproduction because the former expands the capital. In this sense, capitalist has to reproduce means of production including labor at extended scale. In other words, the circuit $M - M'$ or $C - C'$is not similar to productive capital circuit at extended scale because in this circuit the value already capitalized would be utilized. However, MP' is possible but L' (advanced labor power) is not possible because as MP converts into MP', L would tend to decrease (Marx, ([1885] 1956), p. 47).

It is evident that *conversion* of one component, in all circuits, into another component e.g. $M - C$, and the advancement of value in the correspondent or same component e.g., $M - M'$, requisites for reproduction to be materialized. However, this reproduction is confined to economic sphere only, it assumes caeteris paribus and external influences to be impermeable in the process such as cultural influences. Marx argued that the survival of capitalism is in the reproduction of the means of production at extended scale that is, in its extended sense, is the reproduction of relation of production and classes i.e. exploiters and exploited, at the same time. Thus, the reproduction of means of production at extended scale is the reproduction of class differences. Nevertheless, it is not capitalist as one-whole force that ensures the reproduction of all necessity components of reproduction rather other linked factors that work conjointly to make the process persistent, favorably what the capitalists desired.

Althusser ([1971] 2014) dismantled other associated factors in detailed analysis of reproduction of the relation of production. Drawing upon Gramsci work on ideology –as he praised him in first chapter of his book *On The Reproduction of Capitalism*, and Marxian theory of capitalism, he advanced the analysis in "ideology" sphere by introducing repressive and ideological state apparatuses. The Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs) comprised forces and use of forces (physical) that ensure political conditions for the reproduction of the relation of production, whereas, Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) also ensure the reproduction of relation of production as well as harmony between RSAs and ISAs through the propagation of dominant ideology legitimately (p. 141). Briefly, Althusser clarified the *Reproduction of relation of production* through repressive and ideological state apparatuses.

Moreover, as historically specific ISA has been dominated similarly school or education system at large is the dominant ideological state apparatus for the transmission and reproduction of dominant ideology. A Capitalist requires reproduction of conditions of reproduction for production of commodities such as Marx signified the importance of the reproduction of material conditions of reproduction i.e. means of reproduction. Therefore, social formation has to reproduce

(1) Productive forces and
(2) Existing relation of production (Althusser, [1971] 2014, p. 48).

Marx asserted that reproduction of means of production must be ensured by capitalist in order to ensure their production, but diversified and qualified labor is required in capitalist state where high division of labor has become one of the major aspects to increase productivity. Here a question arises that how diversified and qualified labor produces and reproduces.

Althusser (Althusser, [1971] 2014) answered the question by arguing that production and reproduction of qualified and diversified labor took place outside of production where capitalist school system is dominant part to ensure such production and reproduction because in schools students learn "know-how" (p. 50-52). Know-how simply refers learning techniques and acquiring knowledge (p. 51, in footnotes). Leaning 'know-how' is means to internalize the rules of respect, codes of behavior or, in other words, practices for the post they are destined to acquire. The jobs they are preparing for or destined to attain, reflect division of labor required by capitalist and they have to be trained accordingly, for they are diversified or classified in school. Thus "know-how" differentiation is the preparation of labor for capitalist in accordance with the established order by dominant class. Students will be qualified for capitalist production

only when they have learnt techniques (competence for the production) that a capitalist required.

In this sense, capitalist school system demands submission to the established order of dominant class which in its explicit form is subjection to the class order, thereby, ideological formation occurs. It simply reflects that capitalist school system transmitting capitalist *established order* in the minds of students. Therefore, submission to the established order of dominant class is production of dominant class ideology through capitalist school system. As enterprise level reproduction of material conditions of production cannot be comprehended – as Quesnay proposed and Marx solved it (Althusser, [1971] 2014, p. 48), similarly it is not just schools as school ideological apparatus, albeit dominant one, rather all Ideological State Apparatuses such as church, scholars, writers, publishers, etc. guarantees reproduction by taking Repressive State Apparatuses as their safeguard (Althusser, [1971] 2014, p. 141).

In capitalist society school is *dominant* ideological apparatus (Althusser, [1971] 2014, p. 142) because, Althusser reasoned,

> "No other Ideological State Apparatus, however, has a *captive* audience of *all the children of the capitalist social formation* at its beck and call (and - this is the least it can do - at no cost to them) *for as many years* as the schools do, eight hours a day, six days out of seven." (Althusser, [1971] 2014, p. 146).

This captive audience has double preparation as it has been ensured in, historically, church and family association which is now succeeded by school and family association. Althusser did not explain this association in detail, but he was of the view that family also takes part into the process of labor preparation. However, its technical cultivation and division is assigned to schools where most of the children would throw back to labor work in their early age and some managed to move ahead. Those who managed to retain will be more technically trained –expert in a field e.g., management, to contribute into the reproduction of relation of production because they have been given trainings for the day –ethics, language, behavior, etc.

Conclusively, Althusser argued that all Ideological State Apparatuses contribute in the process of reproduction of relation of production by their own way such as religion transmits ethics and good behavior, media gives daily dose of nationalism and so on. Similarly, schools

also contribute in the process (but a dominant one) by producing and reproducing agents in the process ideologically subjected to the capitalist established order.

Bourdieu advanced the mechanism of education system and family in relation with reproduction in advanced societies through the conservation, consumption and conversion of capitals. However, his theoretical approach is not Marxist rather, it can be inferred that he expanded what Marx devised on economic bases and Althusser asserted on education. The following section deals with strategies of reproduction as a whole, wherein, the interrelationship of family in a way that it revealed the gist of the theory of reproduction of classes.

2.13.1 The strategies of reproduction: Education and Family

Bourdieu's work on reproduction is well recognized beyond France where he based his reproduction thesis, particularly cultural reproduction. His thesis appeared to solve, as he claimed, a long awaited problem in sociology (micro-macro integration or structure-agency problematic) by introducing habitus, a subjective concept, and its relation with external structure e.g., class structure, or wider social context i.e. social space. His major concepts, issues with these concepts, their empirical evidences and novelty in these concepts have been extensively enunciated in previous sections. However, the illustration was, somewhat, confined to the sphere of terminology or conceptual debates instead of its elaboration in relation with other related concepts to express the theory of reproduction as a whole. This section covers theoretical mechanism of Bourdieu as a whole by which theoretical integration of various concepts to expose their joint effects in order to reproduce classes or social hierarchies. Moreover, the section particularly focused on the strategies of reproduction because they showed how each integral part of the theory is interrelated.

To comprehend reproduction strategies, it is important to understand, initially, what it is not. Reproduction strategies do not refer to rational calculation or actions to maintain or strictly intend to enhance and aim to reproduce the status quo of dominant class rather it refers to the reproduction of practices that stem from habitus that designs, develops or builds up in a way that these practices, consciously or unconsciously, reproduce the capital invested in a field. Because the habitus tends to reproduce the conditions of its own reproduction such as handwriting –embodied cultural capital – always produces the same writing style though the pen is of an ordinary or a brand factory (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 272-73). Bourdieu described,

briefly, numbers of strategies of such reproduction: fertility, inheritance, education, economic, prophylactic, investment and marriage.

A brief description of relationship between educational system and social reproduction will not explicate the complexity of interrelation of all other factors involves in the system of reproduction. To make it explicit, reproduction itself is initially needed to define. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990a) refers social reproduction as "the reproduction of the structure of the relations of force between the classes" (p. 11) or reproduction of relations between classes (p. 54). It simply refers to the reproduction of social structure or in other words reproduction of the differences between classes or reproduction of social hierarchies. This somewhat applies, "like father, like son" but not in terms of same occupations strictly. However, the imperative notion of reproduction is far more greater or profound than the anecdote of 'like father, like son' because the interplay of structural impositions in terms of conditions of existence (it also brings capitals or forms of power at disposal into play) and correspondent habitus tend to reproduce, albeit through deployment of effective strategies such as investment in education, the structure of social relation. The differentiation among agents or their location in the social space represents their distribution of activities correspondent to their habitus.

Thus, reproduction of social structure of class or social structure of relations between classes demands to sustain relative positions of agents in the social space, whereby, agents deploy several appropriate strategies. However, Bourdieu located or distributed individuals and their activities across fields, therefore, the relevant currency to invest or consume matters the most but the use of currency in objective structure of relations is linked with the subjective system of dispositions which itself is the product of, and central contributing factor of production and reproduction of, the structure. It can now be seen that how external structure of objective relations is related with the internal structure of dispositions.

The external structure such as educational system as a field is of prime importance in advanced societies due to its ability, capability and relative autonomy to produce and reproduce the structure of social relations through its functions of inculcation, consecration and conservation that connected with structure of class relations. The system praised the dominant class habitus, therefore, inclined to reproduce the habitus. In order to reproduce social hierarchies, the education system needs compliant agents who have to invest the most relevant and effective currency i.e. cultural capital, in education field. However, investment of cultural capital is related with the trajectory of the capital because its transmission can only be possible

if parents already accumulated the capital. Moreover, higher economic capital is not positively (relatively) related with cultural capital as Bourdieu explored in *Distinction* (e.g., the chiastic structure of social space of positions) but recent researches found their positive relationship e.g., Cheng (2012).

As far as education concerns in the process of social and cultural reproduction, it involves strategies at individual sides, that is to say, the appropriate use of capitals, development of habitus, mobility within or across field(s), etc. However, at education side, the institution has to reproduce itself, Bourdieu termed self-reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a, p. 54), whereby, it can produce and reproduce cultural arbitrary through its functions of inculcation and transmission. The inculcation involves construction and transmission of specific habitus that would produce actions, not rational rather dispositional, in relation with the established hierarchies either academic or social hierarchies but in order to do so the institution or education system as a whole also has to make others believe that the system is a fair play. Therefore, it conceals its objective function of relation with class relations through inclusion and exclusion criteria, which is based upon bourgeois meritocracy. Nevertheless, on its objective side, the academic hierarchies are in relation with social hierarchies by defending it (p. 158) through circular reproduction (p. 208).

Furthermore, embodied and objectified cultural capital can directly be transmitted to children by parents, but institutional form can only be acquired and retained across generations through institutions i.e. schools, colleges, universities, etc. who legitimatized themselves to transfer the capital. Therefore, educational institution becomes prime legitimate mediator for the transformation of institutionalized cultural capital. Interestingly, functions of educational institutes are not confined to transmission of the form of capital rather it also socializes children through highbrow mannerism. In other words, it prefers those children who already acquired cultural capital, consequently, students from higher socioeconomic background are highly likely to acquire institutional cultural capital.

Such connectivity of upper class family and educational system becomes major strategy for upper and middle class families to reproduce their relative positions in social space. Owing to the preferences of highbrow culture of education system, highbrow families invest in education of their children that reproduces cultural capital. Such reproduction produces higher advantages for highbrow families such as the probability of employment but not of manual work rather in politics, administration, industry, etc. Thus, the strategy, on the one hand,

reproduces cultural capital and, on the other hand, converts the capital into economic capital that has been invested by families. It showed that the reproduction through education system is the reproduction and enhancement of what is already in their possession.

However, the degree of interest in academic success is associated with the degree of social success; therefore, an industrialist's degree of interest in investing in education could be less than a cleric's interest of investment in education because they have different degree of social success related with academic success as well as have different structure of patrimony. Therefore, not all groups or agents use same reproduction strategy, strategies in the same way and degree of same strategy because the use of the strategy depends upon their amount and structure of patrimony (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 276). It also reflects that the capital in hand and the structure of profit in relation with the most suitable market for the investment of the capital is related with suitability such as which market is more profitable and legitimate for the investor that could reproduce, maintain or enhance his relative social position in the social space of positions. Thus, an agent has to convert capital into the form(s) of the capital that is more legitimate and profitable in the field where they find themselves. However, some consecrated socialized bodies –academically entitled as bearers of institutionalized cultural capital – could not be able to acquire positions equivalent to other consecrated socialized bodies in the market. This stock of individuals sacrificed by education system in order to reproduce the privileged class, that is to say, these consecrated are not from privileged background thus are not able to gain the same privilege in the market (p. 287).

As use of education is a strategy to sustain social position in the social space of positions, similarly other strategies also serve the same purpose e.g., marriage strategies. Moreover, these strategies are interrelated such as inheritance strategy cannot be separated from marriage strategies due to the principle of *adot* (Bourdieu, 1990b) – a fund, such as material inheritance to children even in the form of dowry (p. 148) – where the social position could be maintained or enhanced by avoiding the disgrace of *misalliance* – also termed *mismarriage* (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 274) i.e. marrying above or below the rank of the family.

Marital alliance, on the one hand, serves to acquire social capital (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 280) and, on the other hand, if married within family e.g., with cousins, allows to restrict family wealth getting out of the family. However, if marital alliance, avoiding misalliance, seems ensuring matrimonial strategy in accordance with the expected "best fit" in terms of status, it would also not damage the wealth of family rather it increases the total wealth through dowry

or adote. This case is complicated in terms of gender perspective because a female marriage within the same circle of wealth could also demand decrease in the total wealth that can be compensated by marital alliance of a male children of the family in the equivalent economic circle. Moreover, in case of chief manager of a company, the bestowment of the title of heir to him –a title of and legitimation of the transformation of power –ultimately increases the social capital of all family members who contributed in the succession of the successor because the nobility entitled to the heir is actually the enhancement in the stock of capital of family (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 286).

The misalliance must be refrained because it is a kind of 'domestic heresy', whereby symbolic power of family in the form of family honor could be reduced to disgrace. Therefore, marriage within the same rank of family is a strategy of protecting the social position of the family within the structural distribution of positions that, in turn, is the protection of the social hierarchy or social differentiation (p. 153). Thus, the procurement or sustainability of family rank is actually the sustainability of the social structure of differentiation. Moreover, the inheritance strategies are associated with morphological structure of family such as the elder son and the younger sister would have different proportion of material inheritance, thereby, the *adot* as component of marriage strategy shoulders the wall of position because "the greater the amount of *adot*, the more it reinforced the position of the spouse who brought it into the marriage" (p. 155). Hence, marriage strategy is all about making economic and symbolic decisions, an economic project associated with social positions of two parties in order to sustain their social positions, thus reproduction of established hierarchies.

The misalliance is also a matter of domestic politics because if a new heiress of a house has economically higher social status, it would tend to decrease symbolic power of her mother-in-law, and, on the contrary, if she is from relatively lower economic back ground, it would decrease symbolic power of the family. Therefore, the misalliance is a greater threat to the family honor that at the same time is a threat to the established social hierarchies which marriage strategies and, in fact other strategies in game, tend to reproduce. Therefore, Bourdieu asserted that such practices in the form of strategies are dispositional rather than rational due to the conditions of existence in the wider social context that design specific class related habitus to act in the way that, consciously and unconsciously, favors the already established order: differentiation of positions (p. 161).

The two mode of reproduction i.e. the family and education (school) are characterized by two strategies to perpetuate the family status. The school mode of reproduction or family use of school tends to reproduce the cultural capital as its prime function of the family, however, families largely rely on the patrimony are under constant threat of dispersion of family wealth thus primarily focused on strong solidarity among its members. Therefore, it simultaneously manages to perpetuate family's economic and social capital.

Another important fact about the reproduction theory is its critique on mobility theory that views society through unidimensional approach and obfuscates the fact that 'occupational heredity' is very weakly connected with the reproduction of social structure of inequality. Such linear view of society conceals the fact of multifaceted connectivity of capitals, their use in the field they are valued (it is associated with displacement in a field) and their conversion into other forms of capital (it is associated with displacement between fields) where the converted capitals are valued (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 277). Thus, the difference between displacement within a field and between fields demand accumulation and conversion of a capital valued in the field. The reproduction of the structure of inequality of inequal distribution of capitals is not merely the game of occupational stability or mobility rather the accumulation and conversion (when required) of capitals. Apart from preponderance of capital(s), the bearer of different forms of capitals also need to legitimatize the dominance associated with accumulated capitals or forms of capitals. This implies the symbolic strategy of reproduction, whereby, dominance and the foundation of dominance propagates as recognized thus legitimatizes (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 265).

2.13.2 Previous studies on class reproduction

Robinson (1984) studied class reproduction in five capitalist countries i.e. America, Great Britain, Chile and Argentina. The study found that relations of ownership of means of production largely reproduced directly from one generation to the next. However, education has trivial role in reproduction of ownership of means of production and control over labor power.

Robinson and Garnier (1985) studied class reproduction and gender disparity regarding reproduction strategies. They found that education has trivial role in reproduction of elite class in France. They concluded that reproduction of means of production and control over labor power can directly be transmitted to elite class children especially sons, whereas, female children are highly unlikely to inherit the equal quantity and quality of resources as male children could.

Mickelson (1987) used an interesting method i.e. Missing Brackets, to explore social reproduction through schooling. She used locus of control scale (eight items) developed by Rotter and added brackets "[ ]" at the end of statements except some. She found that students from lower or working class background seek help for the missing brackets and considered it something ambiguous, whereas, students from middle and upper class background independently solved the missing brackets issue. Moreover, the responses were another important finding because the scale was designed to choose one of the two statements. The students from working and lower class backgrounds responded what they were instructed to do, whereas, students from middle and upper class background asked questions on given items such as "what if I believe both statements are true?" She concluded "independent and challenging authority" of upper and middle class students. However, lower and working class students are authority followers. Therefore, their behavior, beliefs and attitudes reflected class reproduction even in similar educational environment.

Katsillis and Rubinson (1990) evaluated cultural capital mediation model and found no direct or indirect effect of the capital on educational reproduction. Their study explored that instead of cultural capital, students' ability and effort are important contributing factors in reproduction of social hierarchies. Therefore, ability and effort of students reproduce social hierarchies through educational system.

Jonsson (1993) assessed six models of intergenerational reproduction that represented different relationships among class of origin, education and class of destination. The study found that class of origin has weak relationship with education, whereas, education has strongest effect on class of destination. However, the mediating role of education was very weak, particularly among farmers and petty bourgeois. It was also explored that social capital –measured in terms of individual contacts and connection with peers, family members and other people – is also involved in the process of social reproduction which has widely been neglected in empirical studies.

Nakhaie (1996) used Erik, O. Wright's class operationalization with an amendment of surplus population i.e. housewives. The study explored that bourgeois class tended to reproduce itself being independent to education, ethnicity, age, region and language. The study also reported that reproduction of the class is highly likely to reproduce through males than females because males have higher amount of inheritance than female. However, if class position did not directly transfer, the strategy of capital investment would be used to start a new business

for male or female offspring. The study reported that reproduction of new middle class i.e. experts and managers, is based upon economic and technical rationality. Rössel & Beckert-Zieglschmid (2002) studied cultural reproduction through school and schooling. They explored intergenerational transmission of highbrow cultural capital and impact of the capital on educational attainment. However, other forms of cultural capital have trivial effect on educational attainment.

Jonsson, Grusky, Carlo, Pollak and Brinton (2009) introduced an unconventional argument in reproduction discourses. They claimed that instead of cultural and other forms of capital, social reproduction becomes evident due to occupational reproduction. They evaluated their argument in four countries i.e. America, Germany, Japan and Sweden. They concluded that parents bring their occupational-specific capital into home that affects socialization of children who, in turn, invest in the capital. Thus, son of a truck driver is highly likely to reproduce occupational capital of his father. Furthermore, they argued that reproduction of "big class" is highly likely to occur than "micro class" due to the fact that the class is highly likely to reproduce itself.

Streib (2011) used observational analysis to comprehend class reproduction among four years old students in school. Drawing upon Bourdieu's (1991) postulate that "language bestows power", she explored how symbolic power attached to language represents class in classroom. She explored two modes of language representations i.e. taking the floor and taking stand, in relation with use of symbolic power in classroom. Through taking the floor (i.e. use of language with explanatory power) upper middle class students restrained working class students from articulation. Through taking a stand (i.e. use of language to resolve conflict over toys) upper middle class students succeeded to achieve their goals, enhanced their language ability and strengthened their symbolic power. Thus, in the space of language, upper middle class students reproduce and enhance symbolic power which is attached to language.

2.14 Modeling Triptych Model of Class Reproduction

Theory and model often use interchangeably that confuse conceptual difference between the terms. Scholars suggested and attempted to clarify difference between theory and model. However, some criticized modelling because it simplifies reality that devalue the originality of complex relationship among variables in a theory. On the contrary, others took that simplification as advantage. The discussion on model and theory is interrelated due to their frequent use in literature interchangeably and their ambiguous distinction. Severin and Tankard (1997) said that theory and model is very closely related that confused their differences. Bill and Hardgrave (1973) commented that model is a device to formulate theory, but it is not an explanatory one. Similarly, Shoemaker, Tankard, and Lasorsa (2003) claimed a model can be used to represent a theory because it signified major propositions or set of relationship among variables in theory.

Model is a tool for theory construction. It simplifies complexity of reality, which in turn helps to comprehend the basic pillars of given reality and draws relationship among the concepts on parsimony principle of theory construction. The parsimony principle is also known as Occam's razor which stated that simpler of two competing theories is to be preferred (for detail discussion, see Aarts, 2007). Moreover, a model highly relies upon isomorphism because a major purpose of modeling is to dismantle what it models. Bill and Hardgrave (1973) stated that a model is isomorphic representation of reality. Neuliep (1996) emphasized on graphical representation of a model. Similarly, McQuail and Windahl (1993) stated that a model is a diagram of a process which seeks to dismantle the network of elements in the process. On the contrary, Baran and Davis (1995) believed that a model could be verbal or graphical. However, all assented on isomorphism principle –a structural correspondence between two or more things (Gordon, 2003, p.107). Some scholars contended that isomorphic modeling is confined to natural sciences only such as modeling an areophane, building, human body etc. Neuliep (1996) named such model a scale model. It also refers to physical modeling. It is important to describe physical model before explaining modelling in social sciences because it would clarify the differences.

Physical model does not only pose parallelism or similarity, but it also has to function accurately, on small scale, for experiment purpose. However, if only description is required then accurate function will not be given higher priority. Therefore, physical model is less concerned with conceptuality. However, if it involves symbols or mathematical description, it

relies upon conceptual clarity as Deutsch (1952) stated that a model is a structure of symbols. Mathematical or statistical modeling models underlining assumptions and propositions of a proposed theory. Kaplan (1964) named such models, formal models. A model can be a combination of both physical isomorphism and structured mathematical conceptuality. For example, if a physical model of building would be explained on its mathematical principles simultaneously, it would be a combination of conceptual and physical models. In natural sciences the most popular form of modeling is physical modeling, it can also refer to process modeling. The process modeling showed a process of elements physically such as flow of blood in human body.

However, if physical modeling is the only valid and reliable method of modeling then social sciences have least to do with modeling because it is impossible to model whole society physically. Therefore, it is important to note that all aspects of reality cannot be modeled rather major blocks or concepts, and their relationship will be chosen to model the given reality. It is also a matter of parsimony principle –simplification of theoretical statements or relationship between variables. Shoemaker et al. (2003) stated,

> "We might say that a model simply represents a portion of reality, either an object or a process, in such a way as to highlight what are considered to be key elements or parts of the object or process and the connections among them. A model is not a mirror image of reality but merely makes salient certain aspects of reality. A model helps us focus on some parts and connections among those parts while ignoring other parts and connections. It is this simplifying and focusing that makes models particularly valuable as theory building tools" (p. 110).

Social scientists used parsimony and isomorphic principle for two basic purposes. First, they construct different models to develop a theory e.g. Marx's M-C-M and surplus value model in theory of capitalism. Second, they develop model(s) on a theory in order to simplify its network or process of variables or elements respectively e.g. Ritzer (2000) modeled dialecticism of Marx (p. 48) and Kohen's Paradigm shift (p. 629). Therefore, it is possible to develop several (different) models of same reality because it deals with portion of reality or theory to simplify it.

In terms of parsimony, Lave and March (1993) spoke similar to Shoemaker et al. (2003), whereas, discussing modeling in social sciences they defined model as a "systematic

set of conjectures about real world" (p. 4). Although, modeling in social sciences retained parsimony and isomorphism principles but it has to incorporate other principles as well due to complex nature of social world and different methods to deal with such complexity. For example, modeling in quantitative research is subject to quantification of the problem understudy, whereas, modeling in qualitative research demands detailed description of a phenomenon understudy. Therefore, Lee (1976) defined model in social research especially quantitative as a system of interrelated hypotheses (p. 66) e.g. a model to be tested through structured equation model. However, modeling in qualitative research methods could be synonym of grounded theory because it stresses upon relationship between core categories through axial coding (Charmaz, 2006, p. 60; Glaser & Strauss, 2006, p. 40).

Gordon (2003) exclusively explained the methodology of modeling in social sciences. He introduced principles of the methodology while retaining isomorphism and parsimony. According to him, modeling in social sciences has to abide by four principles:

1. Isomorphism
2. Avoidances from *ignoratio elenchi*
3. Parsimony
4. Conceptual quantification (p. 106-110)

Gordon (2003) stated that isomorphism is popular in natural sciences models and basis of criticism on models in social sciences. The criticism implies naïve or unrealistic modeling because models in social sciences are unable to replicate social world. However, it is not the standard to evaluate the validation of a model because simulation of a thing may or may not serve as its true use in scientific investigation. For example, a model of train could be used to signify its design, whereas, to show its speed like 300 km/h is a hard task. Therefore, a model that serves as an instrument of scientific investigation is better than merely its replication (p. 108). Moreover, such simulation of a thing may cause logical fallacy called ignoratio elenchi.

Models in natural sciences are not much concerned with such logical fallacy due to the availably of controlled experimentation or environment to test a model. In social sciences, it is "the important principle" that can make a model completely irrelevant. The fallacy occurs by not focusing on the issue in question. For example, arguments about A applies on B which is not similar as A in some respects, represents ignoratio elenchi. In this respect, a model A is not representing reality B in some respect it would br a fallacy. Secondly, irrelevant features of a reality or theory must be excluded to develop a parsimonious model. The exclusion of features

is a matter of high cautiousness because it may again cause ignoratio elenchi. The best possible method to satisfy parsimony principle is to select major proposition while constructing a model. In empirical research, Aarts (2007) suggested to include minimum numbers of parameters and limit the research to subset of data (p. 7). On the one side, this method will ensure the simplicity of the model through selection of least possible set of parameters and, on the other hand, it will improve the comprehensibility of the model by extending the analysis to subsets of the data.

Lastly, Gordon (2003) emphasized that without conceptual quantification, it is difficult to construct a model in social science. This assertion suggests that a model should link with data analysis, otherwise, it would be mere abstraction. Therefore, for the selection of features / concepts / propositions from a theory to construct a model, following points must be taken into account:

1. The features must be minimum as much as possible
2. These features should be central arguments of theory and
3. Should be quantifiable (testable).

Researcher of the current study selected parameters to construct a model on reproduction theory considering this framework as plausible.

The discussion on modeling revealed that models tend to simplify complex reality, but it also has other purposes as well such as generativity. Modeling in quantitative domain also assesses magnitude of proposed relationships among variables that may or may not affirm the strength of relationship among variables in the model. Moreover, there is also a possibility that a quantitative model constructed on a complex theoretical framework could be rejected. Thus, modeling also incorporates most sophisticated axioms of philosophy named falsifiability and generativity. In other words, modeling also avails the risk of rejection that in turn leads to generativity, whereby, new network of relationship among variables can be proposed and assessed. However, if the network of relationship affirms, it supports parsimony.

Previous sections described reproduction theory in detail so that major concepts of the theory can be signified in order to include in the model. The discussion in previous sections also showed the complications in and complex relationships of variables in relational terms proposed by reproduction theorists. Previous models on reproduction theory of Bourdieu either focused on class reproduction through classes only e.g. direct relationship with class of origin and class of destination (e.g., Nakhaie, 1996), or attempted to evaluate education and reproduction e.g. cultural capital and academic performance (e.g, Rössel & Beckert-

Zieglschmid, 2002). In addition, some moved a step forward and modeled mediation proposition such as Dumais (2002) (The description of such studies is reported throughout the dissertation, for a quick review see Chapter 1). In general, previous models partly dealt with reproduction theory empirically. However, reproduction theory is epistemologically based upon relational logic and incorporates multidimensional approach of society, therefore, researcher proposed that dealing with reproduction theory partly would not reveal the reproduction in a society understudy explicitly rather reproduction will be assumed in the conclusion. Such as the study by Katsillis and Rubinson (1990) and Toren (2004), evaluated relationship between cultural capital of students and their academic achievement, and attempted to conclude reproduction in the society without measuring their social and economic capital or status after school, whereby, substantiation of reproduction could be ensured. Further, some researchers assessed direct relationship between class of origin and destination e.g. Robinson and Garnier (1985) and Nakhaie (1996), however, they neglected mediation of either habitus or cultural capital. Therefore, this study developed a model of class reproduction which included central propositions of the theory, theoretically, methodologically and statistically.

Table 2.1

Scheme of triptych model of class reproduction

Sr#	Theoretical	Empirical
1.	Assessment of the structure of social space of positions and lifestyle.	Multiple Correspondence Modelling
2.	Reproduction of class and capitals, perpetuation of class in next generation and conversion of capitals	Log linear Modelling
3.	Mediation of habitus and cultural capital	Structural Equation Modelling

The model incorporated three major propositions of reproduction theory and three methods of analysis. Theoretically, reproduction theory revolves around the reproduction of class and capitals, perpetuation of the class in the next generation and conversion of capitals. Empirically, the analysis of the theory begins with geometrical modelling to construct the social space of positions which will identify classes, conditions of existence, difference from necessity, homology of practices and taste. Secondly, log linear model will assess the propositions because geometrical modeling is not hypothesis testing technique. Lastly,

structure equation modeling will evaluate mediation model. Table 2.1 showed the scheme of triptych model of class reproduction.

The triptych model of class reproduction is based upon Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction. The triptych model incorporated central propositions of the theory. Moreover, epistemological basis of a theory is foundation of theoretical propositions; therefore, Bourdieusian epistemology is needed to describe here in order to clarify and simplify central propositions of his reproduction theory selected to model.

Bourdieu is strictly against strict boundaries and dichotomies or antinomies such as objectivity and subjectivity, structure and agency, functional and conflict, and so on. Similarly, he also does not believe in theory and research separatism (Swartz, 1997, p. 35). Therefore, his central epistemological axiom is relational thinking. The relational thinking implies that structure is not out-there or alien to agents pertaining its own consciousness because "…people are not fools" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 130). In other words, structure (field) and agents are related. This relationship operates in two way. First, field structures habitus and second, habitus contributes potentially to constituent field as a meaningful arena (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 44). Now such relational thinking unfolds other epistemological stances such as, in contrary to strict boundaries, society is multidimensional space, wherein, agents are related to each other. In relational terms of habitus and field, agents are neither rational beings nor passive actors, yet they could be reasonable. Bourdieu replied to Wacquant on habitus, "…without being rational, social agents are *reasonable* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 129, original emphasis). Change is product of such constant relations. The epistemological grounds and propositions are further organized.

1. Capital cannot be reduced to economic dimension only because other capitals and forms of capitals also exist in society such as cultural capital.
2. These capitals are unequally distributed –so is power – in multidimensional space of social positions, whereby, the linear logic to explain social fabrication cannot approach the multifaceted structure of unequal distribution of these capitals. Therefore, relational logic is the most appropriate logical technique to describe structure of, and relations in, multidimensional space of positions.
3. The class and class fractions located in the multidimensional space and associated capitals (their volume, composition and trajectory) identify their conditions of existence, homology of practices and distance from the necessity, whereby, the

reproduction of the structure of unequal distribution of resources i.e. economic, cultural and social, reveals itself.

4. The reproduction of the structure of unequal distribution of resources implies several strategies such as conversion of capitals and marital strategy.
5. Lastly, family, capitals and system of education (and education itself) facilitate the structure of unequal distribution of resources to reproduce it.

These propositions can empirically be evaluated by constructing social space of positions. Therefore, empirical part of the study (see chapter 4) deals with relationship of various measures of capitals and class. Classes were identified through social space which were used in further analysis of the propositions.

Researcher of this study drew three central propositions from above mentioned summary of the theory. The propositions satisfy parsimony principle, are based upon central arguments of the theory thus isomorphic, and quantifiable. The propositions are as follow:

1. Reproduction of capitals and Class
    a. Class of father (or family) determines class of children, whereby, the accumulated resources of family directly determine or enhance the amount of resources of children.

Figure 2.8a and b is graphical representation of the proposition. This proposition hypothetically assumed that class of children depends on class of father, whereby, capitals of children depends on class of fathers.

2. Perpetuation of class in next generation
    a. Children preserve the inherited resources and consume the resources appropriately to perpetuate the class they inherited.

The perpetuation of class depends upon preservation and consumption of capital(s) across generation. The proposition can be hypothesized as class of children depends upon the amount of conserved capitals and vice versa. In this way, if higher economic, cultural and social capital are associated with dominant class of children, the inherited class perpetuates. Figure 2.8b also represents class perpetuation as well as class reproduction because if father's class is determining class of children, it means the class is being perpetuated in next generation. However, class perpetuation is not only to be located in the class of father, but children has to

sustain it which is not possible without the sustainability or enhancement of accumulated resources. Figure 2.8c is a graphical representation of the proposition.

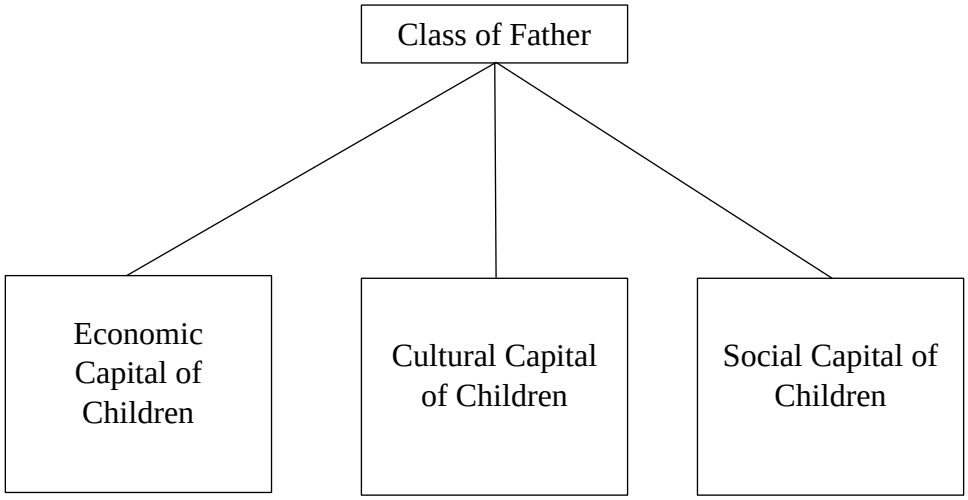

Figure 2.8a. Reproduction of capitals
Note: lines without arrows showed association instead of effect

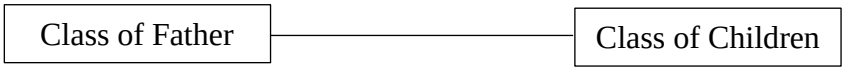

Figure 2.8b. Class reproduction

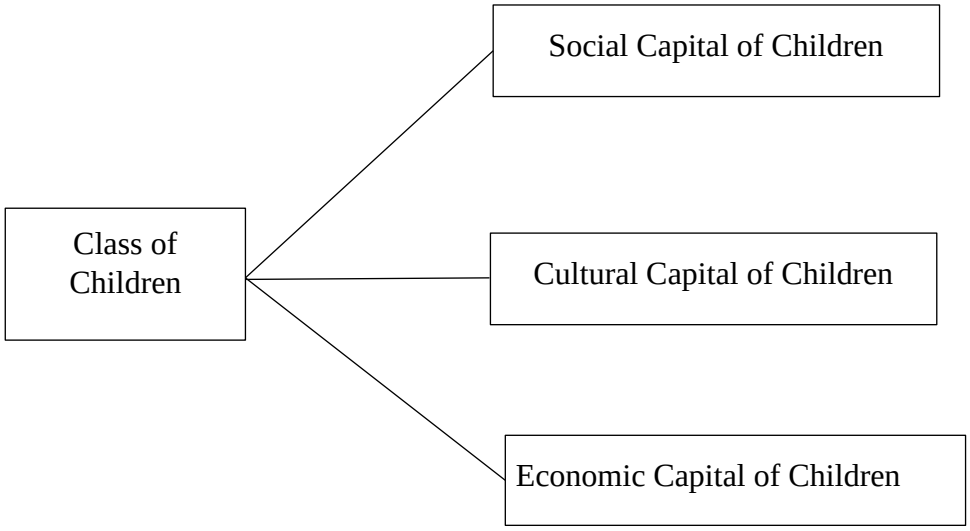

Figure 2.8c. Class perpetuation in next generation

Figure 2.8c showed that class of children and their accumulated resources are associated. In other words, high economic, cultural and social capital are associated with dominant class of children.

3. Conversion of capitals
    a. The agents strategically convert accumulated resources into each other to perpetuate or to improve their social positions (which determine their class location in multidimensional space) across generations. If one strategy would be less successful, alternative strategy would be preferred.

The proposition can be hypothesized by stating that capitals (i.e. economic, cultural and social) are associated with each other. Figure 2.8d graphically presented the hypothesis.

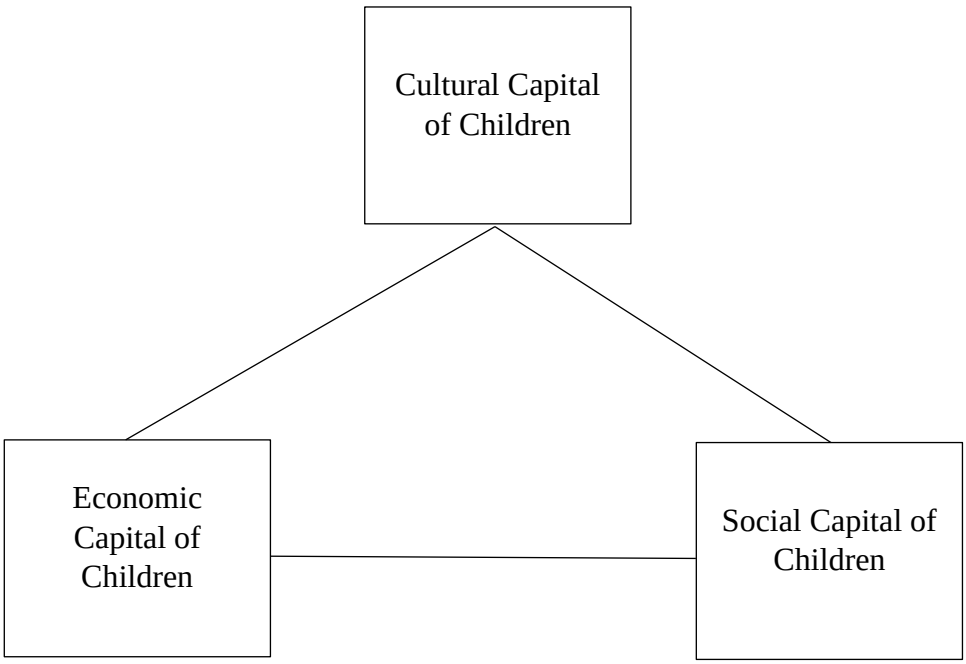

Figure 2.8d. Interdependency of resources

In the study, these three interrelated propositions are used to develop a testable model of class reproduction. In order to substantiate the model, the social space of positions is constructed (see figure 4.11a, b and c). The space covers almost all preliminary propositions, mentioned above, of reproduction theory. The space will reveal the conditions of existence of the respondents, homology of practices and distance from necessity. Moreover, it dismantles the chiastic structure of the social space of positions and structure of unequal distribution of

resources i.e. economic, cultural and social capital. The space also identifies classes. The social positions associated with higher economic, cultural and social capital will be included in dominant class and other social positions will be labelled as dominated class. Thus, two major classes are used in the study: dominant and dominated, in the triptych model of class reproduction as Bourdieu identified in *Distinction* (1984). The final model that incorporated three interrelated propositions/hypotheses mentioned above formed a model of variables association. Figure 2.9 represents the model that included formulated hypotheses simultaneously.

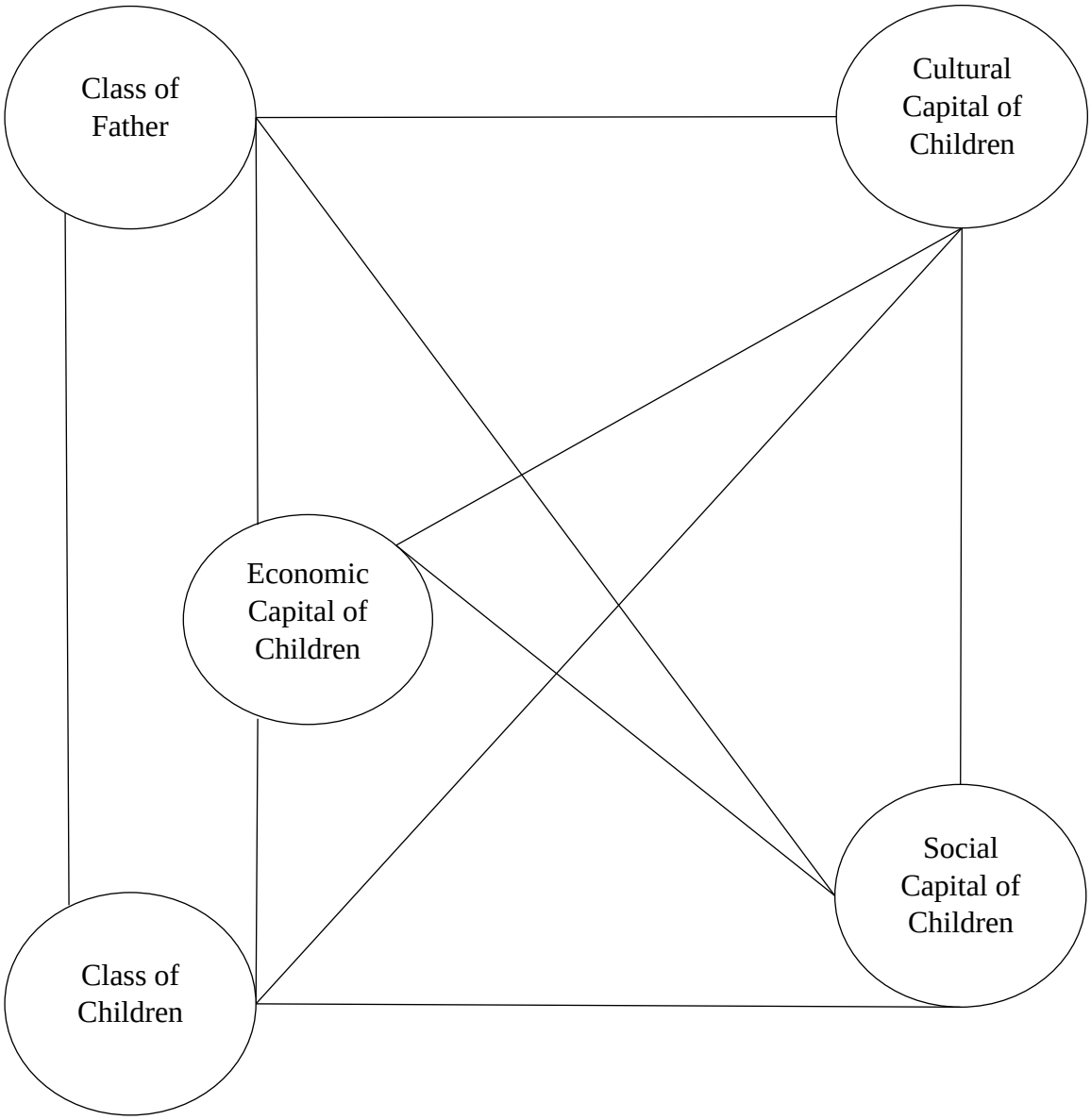

Figure 2.9. The model of class reproduction

The relationship among variables in the model demands a statistical model that could incorporate all parameters simultaneously. Therefore, next crucial step is to build an isomorphic statistical model. Log linear modeling is preferred because it deals with multiple variables to explore their association simultaneously. Log linear model of homogenous associations is selected to test the model of class reproduction. The statistical model is as follow:

$$\mu_{ijzmh} = \ln(N) + \lambda_i^{DF} + \lambda_j^{DR} + \lambda_z^{EC} + \lambda_m^{CC} + +\lambda_h^{SC} + \lambda_{ij}^{DF.DR} + \lambda_{iz}^{DF.EC} + \lambda_{im}^{DF.CC} + +\lambda_{ih}^{DF.SC} + \lambda_{jz}^{DR.EC} + \lambda_{jm}^{DR.CC} + \lambda_{jh}^{DR.SC} + \lambda_{jz}^{EC.CC} + \lambda_{jm}^{EC.SC} + \lambda_{jh}^{CC.SC}$$

The model comprised 16 parameters that are dealing with major three interrelated concepts of reproduction theory. The preliminary parameters are main effects ($\ln(N) + \lambda_i^{DF} + \lambda_j^{DR} + \lambda_z^{EC} + \lambda_m^{CC} + +\lambda_h^{SC}$) that have least importance if higher order interaction terms are included in the model. The first part of the model explains reproduction of class and capitals ($\lambda_{ij}^{DF.DR} + \lambda_{iz}^{DF.EC} + \lambda_{im}^{DF.CC} + +\lambda_{ih}^{DF.SC}$). The second part comprised class perpetuation ($\lambda_{jz}^{DR.EC} + \lambda_{jm}^{DR.CC} + \lambda_{jh}^{DR.SC}$) and the third part of the model deals with conversion of capitals ($\lambda_{jz}^{EC.CC} + \lambda_{jm}^{EC.SC} + \lambda_{jh}^{CC.SC}$).

This model, on the one hand, showed, class reproduction as a whole and, on the other hand, the interrelationship of class and capitals, and capitals with each other such as the parameter $\lambda_{ij}^{DF.DR}$ refers to class reproduction as a whole. Moreover, the parameters $\lambda_{iz}^{DF.EC} + \lambda_{im}^{DF.CC} + +\lambda_{ih}^{DF.SC}$ refer to the reproduction of each capital and the parameters $\lambda_{jz}^{DR.EC} + \lambda_{jm}^{DR.CC} + \lambda_{jh}^{DR.SC}$ refer to the class perpetuation. Lastly, the parameters $\lambda_{jz}^{EC.CC} + \lambda_{jm}^{EC.SC} + \lambda_{jh}^{CC.SC}$ refer to conversion of capitals. Overall, the model covers major propositions of class reproduction theory by considering reproduction of capitals through conditions of existence within a class and interrelation of capitals that stem from their ability of conversion.

The constructed homogenous model is identical to logistic model if a dependent variable is selected. For example, in order to predict respondent's class following logistic model will be constructed:

$$logit[(P\ (DR = 1)] = \alpha + \beta_i^{DF} + \beta_z^{EC} + \beta_m^{CC} + \beta_h^{SC}$$

It can be seen that logistic model requires new model for each dependent variable, whereas, log linear model incorporates all variables simultaneously and used interaction of variables. In this way, one the one hand, the log linear model satisfies the parsimony and isomorphism principle, and, on the other hand, the coefficient of each interaction will be identical to the coefficient yield in logistic model. Therefore, the odd ratio in log linear model will be same as in logistic model by taking exponent of coefficient i.e. $Exp(\beta_i^A)$ where A is a variable.

Lastly, although the model satisfies major principles of modelling, but generativity is yet to be dealt with. Therefore, the model across family system, education and gender was evaluated. The reproduction theory assumes smooth functioning of family to facilitate the reproduction of the structure of unequal distribution of resources. However, while focusing on family system instead of education system, It is proposed that intact family system is more appropriate to facilitate reproduction of the structure because in the system parents are able to consume more time with children to develop their class habitus; to transform embodied cultural capital; to support to acquire institutionalized cultural capital to convert it into economic capital; to provide accumulated objectified cultural capital; and to accentuate the social capital they have already conserved. Yeung, Sandberg, Davis-Kean, & Hofferth (2001) found that fathers in intact family system spend more time with their children other than controlling them. Moreover, they also found that education is a dominant predictor of parental involvement in children. Several other studies reported parental education as strong predictor of parental involvement in education of children (e.g. McLanahan & Percheski, 2008). However, in other family systems such as non-intact and broken, these facilities can be restricted due to the system itself because parents would be unable to consume more time with children so would be less likely to transform embodied cultural capital and development of similar class habitus (for detail see section 3). Other family systems may be able to provide objectified cultural capital, economic capital and facilitation to acquire institutionalized cultural capital but it requires to incorporate instruments of reproduction (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 125), whereby, the model would no longer be confined to its most basic parameters rather it has to deal with other factors as well e.g. family laws, state policy etc. Therefore, the model is evaluated at family level to explore whether three major concepts of reproduction theory functions significantly in intact family system?

Moreover, the model is also evaluated at gender and education level. At gender level, the model tends to explore whether class reproduction, class perpetuation and conversion of capitals is significant among males or females. Similarly, the comparison of major concepts is made between respondents with so called elite and non-elite education.

2.15 Conclusion

Bourdieu borrowed cultural dimension from Weber and his economic dimension is a critic of Marx, however, he has influences of several theorists including Marx. His structural approach, especially on cultural grounds made him famous as Durkheimiam, his whole theoretical project has been labelled as "extension model" –extension of Marx economic project on cultural domain, which researcher of the study rejected. Desan also rejected the extension model. Furthermore, his concept of habitus has several influences such as Saussurean structuralism and Panofsky's habit formation. He introduced the idea as solution to structure agency problematic which is substantive contribution in the problem but not a solution. Moreover, variegated definitions in relation with multiple roles of habitus made the subject ambiguous to use in empirical studies. However, it can be operationalized in multiple ways.

Unlike Marx, his concept of economic capital is vague because he did not introduce an explicit conceptualization of the concept but through his empirical studies it can be extracted that physical and financial capital were taken as measures of the capital. Researcher agreed with the assertion of Beasley-Murray that his conceptualization of "capital" is like definition of value in Marx theory. Further, it is also clarified in the study how habitus is not identical to embodied form of cultural capital for which he has also been criticized. As Desan advanced Marx's general formula of capital to clarify the sense of the formula, the study also used the general formula of the capital on cultural capital to reveal its prime purpose in educational field that is named isomorphism of circuits. It is also clarified in the dissertation that Coleman's and Putnam's social capital can be perceived as a contribution in functional theory, however, Bourdieu's social capital is potential resources which are not similar to their conceptualization because in their theories the capital can be viewed in every social connection. However, in Bourdieu's theory, it is confined to potential connections only.

It is argued that Bourdieusian reproduction theory should not be partly evaluated because its major concepts are integrated. Therefore, this study defined a model named triptych model of class reproduction using methodology of modeling which is introduced by Gordon.

The model encompasses major propositions of the theory and corresponding statistical technique to evaluate each proposition. The model suggests that the class reproduction should be studied on relational logic while incorporating the assumption of multidimensionality of society. Therefore, class distinction should also be based upon the distinction of accumulated resources which should not be confined to economic capital only because the theory did not appreciate the capital as prime factor that could signify distinction among agents in societal multidimensionality. Thus, it is suggested to use all forms of capital to identify class distinction.

The study also preferred log linear modelling because correspondence analysis is not a hypothesis testing technique. However, log linear model satisfies assumption of relational logic. Further, the model did acknowledge for mediation, therefore, this study used Structural Equation Model to test mediation model. Researcher suggested that using the approach, reproduction theory could comprehensively be evaluated due to the fact that if it would be assessed partly, the conclusion of class reproduction will be assumed, not evidenced.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Introduction of chapter

Methods for a study are crucial processes in relation with model building and testing approach. At first, it was most important to select true representatives because only male participants cannot be validated to study class reproduction. In Pakistani context, male dominancy is one of the vital obstacles to evaluate empirical validity of triptych model of class reproduction, thus, to overcome the methodological fallacy, researcher ensured participation of both genders in the sample. Secondly, reproduction theory values parenting influences in transferring of capitals, e.g., cultural capital, to their children, therefore, only those respondents were interviewed whose parents were alive at the time of the interview. It is also important to signify that reproduction theory presupposes that family functions properly in order to transform capitals to next generation. Keeping in view the presupposition of smooth functioning of family and parental influence, Researcher proposed that intact family system could better facilitate reproduction than non-intact family system (see chapter 2, section 2.14). Therefore, instead of focusing upon intact family system only, representation of both family systems in sample is ensured. Thus, the inclusion criteria of the study are as follow:

1. Parents of the respondents must be alive.
2. Respondents' occupation must be any of the selected professions for the study (see section 3.2)
3. Respondents must be living in South Punjab.

To operationalize the variables of Bourdieusian reproduction theory, an extensive review of previous studies was consulted. Further, the potential indicators that Bourdieu used for the operationalization of capitals are also not neglected. For example, he argued that pedagogies expect from students to have familiarity with culture, style to content, linguistic eloquence and cultural competence (Bourdieu, 1967, p. 335; Bourdieu, 1977a, p. 494; see also Bourdieu, 1984, 1986, 1996 for other indicators of cultural capital). Therefore, to operationalize cultural capital in Pakistan, all forms of cultural capital are selected such as institutional (education level), embodied (viewing habits and activities) and objectified (books, furniture etc.) cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 17). Moreover, economic capital is measured by monthly income, house and land ownership, and some other material possessions, whereas,

the scale of social capital is based upon its effectiveness in relation with the association with people who are exposed to power or authority such as bureaucrats, politicians, army officials etc. The club membership is also included as one of the measures of social capital. Habitus is operationalized in terms of the value that respondents give to various aspirations of life aspects such as importance to economic status, upper class culture, education etc. (for questionnaire, see appendix 3, page 431). Lastly, classes of respondents are identified through multiple correspondence analysis.

3.1 Research Design

Research design is neither methods nor work plan (de Vaus, 2001, p. 09) but a "structure of an inquiry" (de Vaus, 2001, p. 16), thereby, it is linked with purpose of research i.e. exploratory, descriptive and explanatory (Neuman, 2014, p. 37) and time dimensions of research e.g. cross-sectional or longitudinal (Neuman, 2014, p. 44; de Vaus, 2001, p. 10). Research design deals with logic of overall operations selected to attain answer of a question, thus it is not a matter of logistics but logic (de Vaus, 2001, p. 16).

Maxfield and Babbie, (2009) argued, "Designing research requires planning several stages, but the stages do not always occur in the same sequence" (p. 70). Describing research design, Babbie (2011) stated that it focuses upon who is to be studied, how to be studied, when to be studied and for what purpose should it be studied (p. 117). Keeping in view the fundamentals of research that Babbie (2011) explained, the research design of the present study included following steps:

i. Time dimension of the research is cross-sectional
ii. Research approach of the research is quantitative
iii. Data collection method is survey research, questionnaire and face-to-face interview schedule
iv. and individuals with selected social positions are target population of the study (see methods).

However, research design is not about merely describe what methods are selected to conduct the research but to explaining the *logic* of selection so that it signifies plausibility of selected methods. Therefore, each step is logically explained which states why the method is selected. For example, describing tool of the study, it is explained why particular variable is

included in the tool, how it is measured and how the operationalization is valid while keeping in view conceptualization of the concept. The steps / parts of research design are as follow:

i. Measurement and tool of the study
ii. Methods
    a. Sample size and sampling
    b. Allocation of sample size
    c. Target population
    d. Data collection methods
        i. Survey research
        ii. Pilot study
iii. Analysis

The detailed description of each step of research design of the study in relation with their plausibility is as follow:

3.2 Measurement and tool

The detailed measurement process of each variable in the study is as follow:

3.2.1 Cultural Capital

Cultural capital has extensively varied empirical measurements that affirm (i) its poor or theoretically complicated definition(s) (Sullivan, 2001), (ii) partly measurement and (iii) cultural driven modified versions of tools of the capital to fit theoretical arguments within the given culture (see table 3.1). Narrowed and partly measurement of the capital cannot be used as generalized affirmation of theoretical propositions if results are significant because the former measurement technically used least indicators of the capital (e.g. see Kalmijn, 1994) and the later measurement often excluded significant indicators of the capital e.g. education. However, a variable pertains "meaning space" –galaxy of indicators (Hage, 1972) –which cannot be measured completely (Shoemaker et al., 2004, p. 27); therefore, Popper (1968) asserted that a theory cannot be approved or disapproved entirely. For that reason, the most plausible process to deal with the matter of measurement is to include maximum potential indicators being align with theoretical definition of the variable under study so that the measurement could ensure the maximum similarity with theoretical propositions and the results could be generalized affirmation or disaffirmation of the propositions (not in statistical sense

Table 3.1
Measurement diversity of cultural capital across countries

Author	**Subject**	**Measurement**	**Data**	**Area**
Sullivan (2001)	School Students	Cultural knowledge, Language & Cultural activities	First hand Data	Britain
Kaufman and Gabler (2004)	8th grade	Attendance of concerts, museum and library but outside school	National Education Longitudinal Study (1998)	USA
Lewicka (2005)	Community residents	The participant's, father's and mother's education levels, the number of books at home (from 0 to over 1000), and an analogous count of the number of books in the parents' home	First hand Data	Poland
Lee (2009)	Younger & adult mothers	religious attendance and attachment to race/ethnic heritage	Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing	USA
Riaz (2009)	10th grade students	Father & mother education, their involvement in children education, their watching and reading habits, their motivational level, parenting style & children's watching and reading habits	First hand Data	Pakistan
Dumais and Ward (2010)	8th grade	Ways parents offer to help study, cultural class participation, family cultural capital	National Education Longitudinal Study (1998-2000) &	USA

			Postsecondary Education Transcript Study.	
Tramonte and Willms (2010)	15-year-old students	Static CP: high culture goods, such as artworks, musical instruments, and classical music; and highbrow activities such as going to museums or the ballet or theatre. Relational CP includes discussions between children and parents on cultural, political, social matters, on school activities and on books that children have read	Programme for International Student Assessment (2000)	OECD
Mohammadrezaie et al. (2011)	Undergraduate students	Practice of modern culture	First hand Data	Iran
Gaddis (2013)	Youth	Number of times an individual has visited a museum, attended a play, hours spent on cultural lesson i.e. music, art, dance and language, hours spent on reading	Big Brothers/Big sisters of America Program (1990)	USA
Lewicka (2013)	Community residents	Number of books, attitude to reading, cultural activity	First hand Data	Poland and Ukraine

Willekens and Lievens (2014)	Head of household	Included books reading such as novels, music, jazz (CDs) etc. focused on both parents and children	Cultural Participation in Flanders (2003-04)	Belgium
Hatlevik et al. (2015)	Upper secondary school students	Number of books at home	First hand data	Norway

but theoretical). Thus, the selected indicators of the capital cover activities, watching habits, viewing habits, language competence, etc. For example, language competence is vital ingredient of cultural capital as Bourdieu (1967) said Ecole Normale a school of style where knowledge of language is preferred (p. 355) or in short, linguistic capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a), which has not been measured in several studies (e.g., see Riaz, 2009). It is argued that measurement of cultural capital in previous studies was not taken as it supposed to be and if it had been measured comprehensively, theoretical propositions of the theory were violated empirically.

In the present study, researcher attempted to ensure a valid and comprehensive operationalization of the construct by including its every possible indicator into the tool of the capital. To accomplish the purpose, initially, he reviewed various published literature and several empirical studies on cultural capital (e.g. theses, working papers etc.) that revealed its operational elasticity –a broader operationalization (see Sullivan, 2001; Tramonte & Willms, 2010) to single item measurement of cultural capital (see Kalmijn, 1994; Mohammadrezaie, et. al., 2011). Researchers did not appreciate such tapered measurement (e.g., Lareau & Weininger, 2004), therefore, more indicators have been suggested to incorporate such as reading and viewing habits (e.g., Georg, 2004) which are included in operationalization of the construct. Secondly, in various studies secondary source data were scrutinized to select items close to the capital that, in its operational definition, confined the measurement to possibly available indicator(s) (see Lee, 2009). Thirdly, culture is ubiquitously immune to similitude, susceptible to evolution and incumbently transferable, it develops a diametrical proposition to a static reproduction of culture – rich produces rich having class capital of family status and the process persistently continues regardless of cultural variation within it. Therefore, the same indicators that Bourdieu (1984, 1996) used are not replicated (except highly important ones e.g. reading, viewing etc.) rather a mutually exclusive and exhaustive measurement was designed, as mentioned some activities in the tool to explore which activities respondents perform. However, they were allowed to mention activities other than the given choices. Thus, assenting Sullivan's (2001) (suggestive) comprehensive operationalization of the construct, researcher formulated a tool that includes almost every possible indicator of cultural capital.

Before elaborating a detailed description of measurement of the construct, It is critically examined with its measurement in Pakistani context so that theoretical assumption must fit with operationalization of the construct. In other words, the measurement must deals with contextualization problem that is to formulate a measurement tool of a construct with respect

to the milieu under study, to appropriate cultural traits of a culture in tool of the study in accordance with theoretically argued indices which will not violate both theoretical and empirical grounds. The enactment of contextualization process is resulted from Bourdieu's recognition of varying educational system so does cultural capital (across France) which appeared in his writings (e.g., Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a; Bourdieu, 1993a), as he claimed of subfields in educational field. Andersen and Jaeger (2015) dealt with contextualization problem by labelling it 'an empirically unresolved question' of cultural capital due to the intrinsically varied educational system across the globe. Evidently, Jovel (2008) found subfields in education which are partly linked to, follow rules and logic of and sometimes contrary to, dominant field (education). Therefore, it is attempted to operationalize cultural capital contextually as much as possible.

In Pakistan, particularly Punjab, very small number of empirical studies are available which directly dealt with cultural capital theory quantitatively. In fact, only one PhD dissertation conducted by Riaz (2009) is available whereby contextualized operationalization of cultural capital could be discussed at first stage of contextualizing tool of the study. Unfortunately, she did not describe why the selected indicators are important and how they are related with cultural capital theory. However, review of the questionnaire can provide a space to get some insight of the tool. In the tool, she measured reading and watching habits and activities by using likert scale. These indicators are similar to the indicators that this study selected but her measurement was not exhaustive in case of parents watching habits. She designed structured questions regarding the habits and activities which restricted respondents to select any of the given options. Moreover, she did not measure linguistic capital, habitus and parents' cultural activities but did ask about respondents' recreational activities.

Owing to the issues in her measurement, this study aimed to detect what indices of cultural capital should be selected to develop a tool of cultural capital which directed the researcher to review several previous studies in relation with Bourdieu's contention of distinctive educational system so does cultural capital. Following indicators were found most important to operationalize cultural capital. The importance of these indicators, their contextual suitability and contradiction is also described where needed.

3.2.1.1 Linguistic competence

English competence as a symbol of status is prominent in almost all countries who have been British colonies. Haeri (1997) found that English language is the language of upper class

in Egypt, whereas, the official language of the country is Arabic. Montaut (2004) claimed that English is the language of dominant class in India. In Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, English also have the same status. Similarly, English is the language of dominant people in Pakistan especially Bureaucrats, army officers, politicians etc. (Amir, 2008; Rahman, 2008). It is the status symbol of upper class as a form of dominant culture because privileged class socializes their members through private schools where English language is mode of communication, lecture and documentation (Yaqoob & Zubair, 2012).

English is official language in Pakistan thus has its prime importance in every official procedure, in universities it is pedagogic language, whereas, Urdu is national language of the country and widely used for official and unofficial communication. Although, Supreme Court of Pakistan has verdict that Urdu should be used for all official documentation by September 8, 2015 under article 251 of The Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan [CIRP] 1973 yet the decision did not supersede the practice of English in official documentation. The article reads:

(1) "The National language of Pakistan is Urdu, and arrangements shall be made for its being used for official and other purposes within fifteen years from the commencing day.
(2) Subject to clause (1), the English language may be used for official purposes until arrangements are made for its replacement by Urdu.
(3) Without prejudice to the status of the National language, a Provincial Assembly may by law prescribe measures for the leaching, promotion and use of a Provincial language in addition to the National language" (Pakistan.org).

It can be said, in Bourdieu's sense, that English language is legitimately dominant and recognized language of dominant people. Therefore, thinking relationally, the unequal distribution of forms of capitals, in turn, produce unequal distribution of legitimate language and vice versa.

As it has been evident by previous studies that higher education is related with higher-level occupation, similarly, English competence is mandatory to secure higher-level job in Pakistan (Manan, David, & Dumanig, 2016) because it is the language of instruction in universities. As Clemente (2007) included English as an indicator of cultural capital in Mexico, researcher of this study also measured English language competence on five points scale as one of the measures of cultural capital.

It is important to mention that only eloquence does not matter rather reading, writing and listening competence as well. In other words, Bourdieu termed it, linguistic competence: an instrument to comprehend complete code of language especially university language (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a, p. 115) but this competence is unequally distributed because the level of linguistic competence shows "relation to language", thereby, social characteristics determine that what language an acquirer of language articulates (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a, p. 116).

Table 3.2

Frequency and percentage distribution of common and bourgeois parlance

Linguistic Competence	Frequency	Percent
Respondent		
No English Competence	122	17.7
Common Parlance	172	24.9
Bourgeois Parlance	396	57.4
Father		
No English Competence	277	40.1
Common Parlance	193	28.0
Bourgeois Parlance	220	31.9
Mother		
No English Competence	401	58.1
Common Parlance	159	23.0
Bourgeois Parlance	130	18.8
Total	690	100.0

Similarly, in Pakistan, specifically in Punjab province, English language is one of the upper class characteristics to reflect status quo which middle class idealizes while sourcing educational and occupational ventures to acquire this 'expensive' resource – highly expensive schooling is specialized to transmit this resource to students which lower class is unable to afford. Furthermore, unequal educational system in Punjab (characterized by variegated curriculum, pedagogic specialization and skills, fee structure etc.) is function of the unequal

distribution of linguistic competency i.e. transmission of English language and communication with the intentions of its internalization in students which is essentially demanded by universities and higher-level jobs. It affirms Bourdieu's contentions of educational structure as structure of reproduction of bourgeois class because it establishes bourgeois' standard as standard of meritocracy (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a). Thus, the educational structure in Punjab with respect to linguistic preferences is also appropriate to evaluate cultural capital.

Henceforth, operationalization of linguistic competence should also be suitably designed so that, instead of proxy measures, it could confirm its theoretical and empirical validity. Therefore, differentiation of linguistic competence across classes in Bourdieu's work was extracted ab initio. Researcher measured linguistic competence on five-points likert scale ranged from 0 = unable to 4 = excellent (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.971, items = 12).

In fact, he explained importance of language being aware of its distinctive use, not commonly, in classes where decoding of same language tends to vary, mostly opposite and even antagonistic (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 194), therefore, he argued that there are two modes of language with respect to "relation to language" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a, p. 115):

1. Bourgeois parlance
2. Common parlance

He classified measurement of language proficiency into these two modes of language numerically. Lower language competence is given lower score such as poor and medium language competence, codified 1 and 2 respectively, whereas, good and excellent linguistic competence is given 3 and 4 value respectively. Those who were not aware of the language were given 0 = Unable, value.

In order to convert linguistic competence into Bourgeois and common parlance, the scores were computed and divided into common (1 to 8) and Bourgeois parlance (9-18). However, those who were not aware of the language (unable = 0) made a separate category. The frequency and percentage distribution of the parlance by the respondents and parents is given in table 3.2. The reliability statistics of the measurement of respondents (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.980), fathers (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.990) and mothers (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.993) are satisfactory.

3.2.1.2 Cultural activities

One of the most popular indictors of cultural capital is various cultural activities. Several studies primarily measured cultural capital through various activities of students, children, parents etc. These activities cover visit to museum, theater, musical concerts and cultural parties (Pettit, 1999; Kaufman & Gabler, 2004; Upright, 2004; Gaddis, 2013; Kamphuis, Jansen, Mackenbach, & Lenthe, 2015; Schmutz, Stearn & Glennie, 2016). The activities may be best fitted in the European highbrow culture but some of these are not in South Punjab context. In the region, highbrow activities are distributed between two poles of different means of production i.e. zamindar and capitalist. Although, both are economically rich but have different cultural tastes e.g., the ratio of cultural and social meetings is higher among landowners than capitalist.

Similarly, It is also argued that such differences exist among other occupational groups such as small businessmen and farmers frequently visit to theatres than managers and university teachers due to the nature of theatrical shows in the region which is almost entirely opposite to Opera and theatrical demonstration of novels. In the region, theatres are famous for 'stage dramas' which are so called artistic due to the least use of artistic language, acting, scenes etc. These theatrical performances are famous for "*Jugat*" – use of facetious and jocular linguistic codes.

The Jugat language has specific tone and structure of sentences which meant to humor audience through antic, scampish or grotesque acts that lacked in artistic elements. In other words, Jugat is a humorous sentence with vulgar meanings but not all jugats are vulgar. Moreover, jugat is not bourgeois parlance; it is strictly discouraged and considered abominable in formal settings. Therefore, theatrical attendance would not be treated as one of the indicators of highbrow culture in the present study. Some theaters in the region are specified for artistic performances such as Multan Art Council in Multan district. Respondents were asked on this item whether they are indicating artistic theater or stage drama to signify the distinction between art and non-art theater attendance.

As Bourdieu measured various activities of respondents in France in order to construct social space of positions, this study also measured various kind of activities of respondents and their parents. The respondents were asked what kind of activities they perform such as visit to museum, play outdoor sports, traveling, hunting, swimming, horse riding etc. researcher

included as much activities as respondents perform. To make the measurement mutually exclusive and exhaustive, he included "Other activities" in the section where the respondents were allowed to mention those activities which were not given in the question.

3.2.1.2.1 Preference of art and music: another important indicator of cultural capital is music which Bourdieu (1984) also used in his work. Preference of art and music is prominent measure of cultural capital in previous studies (e.g., Ostrower, 1998; Willekens & Lievens, 2014; Börjesson, Broady, Roux, Lidegran, & Palme, 2016). Respondents were asked what kind of music they like such as classical, rap, pop, etc. Their taste of music was also measured through the indication of their favorite singer. Those respondents who responded that they like Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan are actually indicating their classical, Ghazal and Qawwali taste of music, whereas, on the contrary those who like Atif Aslam are actually preferring pop and jazz taste. Respondents were also asked whether they play any musical instrument.

Their artistic preferences were measured by their preference of different kinds of artists such as Pablo Picasso. Researcher also included some Pakistani painters, sculptures and calligraphers in the question. Moreover, the respondents were given choice to mention any other cultural artist that they like. Such artistic preference also covered objectified cultural capital because it is also measured whether respondents have artistic pictures in their home. Some previous studies measured objectified cultural capital through this indicator and possession of musical instrument (e.g., Willekens & Lievens, 2014).

3.2.1.2.2 Reading habits: along with other indicators of cultural capital, taste of reading and frequency of reading (Bourdieu, 1984) have also been used as measures of cultural capital (Gaddis, 2013; Lewicka, 2013). However, like other indicators it was also used to predict educational outcome (DiMaggio, 1982; Cheng & Kaplowitz, 2016). Whereas some studies used it in construction of social space (e.g., Silva & Roux, 2011; Gripsrud, Hovden, & Moe, 2011).

This study preferred to measure reading habits i.e. what category of literature or newspaper respondents prefer to read. Respondents were asked to select as many categories as they read e.g., novels, art, philosophy, history etc. However, these categories did not reflect all possible categories that people may prefer to read. In other words, the measure was not exhaustive. Sullivan (2001) measured reading habits of respondents through an open-ended question and then categories response to maximize the chances to include almost all possible

categories of literature. Riaz (2009) used structured questions for this measure, whereas, several studies selected frequency of reading. This study measured the indicator by confining major categories of reading by giving respondents an option to mention their reading preference other than the given categories. In this way, the measurement of the indicator became mutually exclusive and exhaustive.

In the other category, the responses were analyzed in order to develop new category for their responses if responses deviated from the given categories. For example, those respondents who mention "Raja Gidh or Dasht-e-Sood" in the other category, were fall in Urdu novel category and those who reported they read books of Zakir Naik or Tahirul Qadri were included in 'religious books' category. Moreover, researcher also measured number of books in home (individual and parents). This measure of cultural capital has also been incorporated in previous researches (e.g., Hatlevik et al., 2015; Kamphuis et al., 2015). He used this indicator as one of the measures of objectified cultural capital.

3.2.1.2.3 Viewing habits: the taste of viewing varies across classes such as lower middle class people are inaccessible to highbrow legitimate culture that they could access through television (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 381). Therefore, they prefer poetic and science programs as substitute of legitimate practices, whereas, upper class people prefer intellectual pole (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 327). Bourdieu also signified the importance of the indicator by incorporating the indicator in questionnaire he used in *Distinction* (1984).

Interestingly, he also wrote a book *on television* (Bourdieu, 1998) concerning with journalism which attempted to signify the manipulation of reality in the field and exploitation of information. Technically, he signified the effects of media field on cultural production such as literature while claiming that media is standardizing the standards of other fields by its own standard of truth. However, he also claimed in *Distinction* (1984) that the television makes it possible to get familiar with highbrow culture (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 33) that educational institutes value as standard of their meritocracy. It shows, therefore, that watching television is one of the important indicators of cultural capital.

Previously, Bennett (2006) studied, theoretically and empirically, the link between watching television and cultural capital. Other researchers (e.g., Sullivan, 2001, Gripsrud et al., 2011; Willekens & Lievens, 2014; Cheng, 2015; Gracia, 2015) also used it as one of the

indicators of cultural capital. Therefore, it supports the inclusion of the construct in the study as an important indicator of cultural capital.

In the study, researcher measured viewing habits of respondents and their parents because being one of the major indicators of cultural capital it also transfers from parents to children. He asked respondents what type of programs i.e. political, general knowledge, religious, dramas etc. they watch. Cumulatively, this section of the questionnaire measured view habits of family. The measurement of the indicator would help to comprehend its distribution across classes, whereby, it could evaluate whether viewing habits vary across classes. In other words, the measurement of habits would reveal its distribution and trajectory.

3.2.1.3 Institutionalized Cultural Capital

Institutionalized cultural capital was measured through qualification or last degree/certificate that respondent and parent secured formally from an educational institution. Although, educational level showed institutionalized form of cultural capital yet the vital distinction among agents that could be potentially identified through the form or type of education they acquired. Therefore, the study also measured the educational institution, respondents and their parents have been studied in.

In this regard, he asked respondents whether they studied any of the generally known elite educational institute in the region such as Aitchison College, Saqib Public School, Beacon House etc. Unfortunately, he found no official index or document that categories schools into elite and non-elite educational institutions. However, as students of Harvard, Princeton and Yale are destined to higher-level jobs similarly he reviewed that which institution educated majority of the authoritative persons e.g. politicians (see appendix 4, page 438). It is found that Aitchison, Siddique Public school and La Salle School are the institutions. However, recently, Beacon House, Punjab Group of Colleges, City Schools, Superior College are also emerging as new elite schools and colleges. Moreover, foreign education is also included in the category of elite education.

3.2.2 Economic capital

Economic capital was measured through its surrogates i.e. physical and financial capital, as suggested by Bartee and Brown II (2007, p. 7) while explaining how economic capital and its surrogates have been used interchangeably in empirical researches and

theoretical projects. In previous studies, physical capital is expressed through material assets that could produce more capital (Becker, 1964; Coleman, 1988; Woolcock, 1998). Financial capital has been measured through family wealth, income, etc. (Coleman, 1988; Orr, 2003, Veenstra, 2009). The conceptual clarity of each concept, especially economic capital, have been scarcely described in previous researches that's why the surrogates enjoy the same empirical status as economic capital does. Nevertheless, various debates on these capitals attempted to differentiate them conceptually but operationalization was not yet universal (see table 3.3).

Although Bourdieu also used economic capital in his theoretical and empirical projects but instead of clarifying the concept, he obfuscated it because he did not give an explicit definition of the concept (Ra, 2011). At one place, he claimed economic capital at the base of all other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986) that made his conceptual framework, more or less, identical to Marxian terrain. In *Distinction*, the quadrants of social space of positions to identify agents' location also assumed economic status in terms of money. Therefore, his critics argued that his economic capital is nothing more than money (Zhou & Logan, 1989) and his commentators described that money is its currency (Anheier, Gerhards, & Romo, 1995). Moreover, in empirical researches, operationalization of the capital is diversified. Møllegaard and Jæger (2015) operationalized it through financial and physical capital and many researchers used socio-economic and economic status to substantiate Bourdieu's economic capital. In some researches, it was confined to income only (e.g., Ra, 2011).

Considering these issues of operational definition and possible solutions to deal with it, the study incorporated most significant indicators of the capital in its measurement. At first, monthly income (respondents and parents) was included in the measurement because it is prime currency of the capital (see Anheir et al., 1995). The ownership of land and house was also selected. The inclusion of land ownership has two major reasons. First, it has been used as a proxy measure of economic capital in previous researches (Woolcock, 1998) and secondly, Zamindar were included in the study. Zamindar are known for their landownership as a mean of production (for detail see, Chapter 1, section 1.4). Although, these indicators have been considered a plausible measurement of the capital, but the study also selected some other indicators for exhaustive measurement of the concept. Therefore, ownership of cell phone, laptop, car and motorbike was also selected. Such exhaustive operationalization of the capital can more profoundly reveal its distribution in the region and its relation with other capitals as

well. Moreover, as Ra (2011) excluded some indicators of physical capital which could not contribute significantly to draw class differences, similarly, some indicators such as home appliances were not included due to the fact that even lower class people can afford it nowadays.

Table 3.3

Operationalization of economic capital in previous studies

Author	**Subject**	**Measurement**	**Data**	**Area**
Prieur et al. (2008)	Citizen	Income, house, values of car and possession of shares, bonds, art collection	First Hand	Denmark
Hjellbrekke and Korsnes (2009)	Higher post (employed)	Income and registered property	Leadership survey 2000–2001	Norway
Robson (2009)	Family	Earning potential (Hourly)	British Cohort Study (1970)	Great Britain
Veenstra (2009)	Employed and looking for work	House ownership and Household income	Canadian General Social Survey (2003)	Canada
Ra (2011)	Students	Income	Education Longitudinal Study (2002)	America
Møllegaard and Jæger (2015)	Grandparents and children	Financial and physical capital	Danish Longitudinal survey of youth	Denmark

One can critique that indicators such as cell phone and laptop can also be afforded by lower class people nowadays. Therefore, instead of their dichotomous measurement (i.e. Yes and No), researcher asked respondents about type of cell phone, laptop, bike and car they own. Such operationalization, on the one hand, could easily contribute to differentiate economic capital and, on the other hand, could segregate taste embedded with material possessions, not merely possession. In this way, two respondents may have cell phone but can be differentiated

by their type of possession i.e. iPhone 7 and Nokia 1110. Similarly, the ownership of land (continuous measure in Acres) could differentiate between Zamindar and small farmer. Moreover, considering the fact that two mode of productions i.e. capitalism and Feudalism, simultaneously exist in Southern Punjab which could intermingle one's occupational status with Zamindar because most of the higher class people also own large amount of land.

Therefore, the distinction is required. Thus, researcher asked a follow up question that whether land is their prime source of income? Those who reported that they are Zamindar, owned large amount of land (e.g., ≥ 25 acres) and it is their prime source of income were labelled Zamindar, whereas, those who possess small amount of land (e.g. 1 or 2 acres) and it is their only source of income were labelled farmers. In this way, those respondents who reported they are self-employed, own small amount of land and it is their major source of income were also labelled as farmers. Specifically, the reported occupational status was double checked with amount of land the respondent owned and major source of income to differentiate between Zamindar and other occupations.

Lastly, one strategy to develop accumulative family economic capital is to sum the assigned ad hoc values to produce overall family economic capital. However, such procedure is not encouraged and used by scholars. Most famous method is to apply Principle Component Analysis (PCA) to generate a variable. This method was appreciated and used to develop Wealth Index by Demographic and Health Survey through dichotomous variables of household possessions. Moreover, Møllegaard & Jæger (2015) applied PCA to develop economic capital variable to analyze Bourdieusian theory of capitals. However, the study used Multiple Correspondence *K*-Means Model (MCKM) (see section 3.3.1).

3.2.3 Social capital

The conceptual models of Coleman and Putnam gained more popularity in empirical researches than Bourdieu (Dika & Singh, 2002) because of its parsimony and direct relationship with education (Adedokun, 2007), mobility and other social phenomena. However, conceptual and methodological approach of Bourdieu is far beyond simple or direct relationship among variegated variables e.g. capitals, due to integrated nature of concepts in his theory. The debate on distinction, similarity and usage of Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam theories of social capital is already described (see chapter 2, section 2.8.2). Here researcher wanted to clarify operational differences between these theories in order to make it

comprehendible that why his measurement of Bourdieu's social capital is distinctive and more appropriate than previous researches.

In previous studies, Coleman's social capital has been operationalized in order to understand group solidarity or quality of relationship and its effects on other variables such as educational outcome (Israel, Beaulieu, & Hartless, 2001). This approach is confined to rational action, functionality and within group social capital or generally context specific (Foley & Edwards, 1999). In other words, such operationalization allows to observe chances of upward mobility itself regardless of external factors such as socioeconomic status or class structure as some scholars (e.g., Khattab, 2003) found higher educational outcome regardless of economic disparities. Moreover, it is expressed as common benefit (Shucksmith, 2000) which is contrary to Bourdieu's notion of the concept.

Bourdieu's conceptual framework stood against rational action theory, whereby, external factors strongly influence one's life chances. Therefore, although scholars attempted to combine these different paradigms (e.g., Ho, 2003), they failed to accentuate operational differences because Bourdieu did not view social capital as merely a resource but potential one, and relationship within family is identical to cultural capital, not social capital (Rogošić & Baranović, 2016).

His social capital can be operationalized through potential resources or measurement of agents' potential connections. One possibility for such operationalization, that this study used, is to measure agent's quality of relationship – out of family (Ra, 2011) – with those agents who are potential resources or can be used to achieve desired end. In this sense, connection with agents who possess higher cultural or/and economic capital would be considered as potential resources. On the contrary, Coleman's social capital assumes almost every connection or network of an agent under a structure an indicator of social capital such as association with family, friends, community etc.

Another important consideration in Bourdieu's framework is unequal distribution of resources that accentuate the assumption of capitals' differentiation so does the social capital. It also makes it explicit that class differences are associated with differences in social capital. Under such postulate if operationalization of Coleman's social capital would be implied, it may support the postulate but would not be able to affirm in terms of potential resources.

Therefore, the study measured respondents' quality of relationship (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.891) with those agents who could be labeled as potential resources in a structure of social positions. In other words, those individuals who have power and authority within a structure are considered as potential resources for other individuals. Researcher measured the quality of relationship of the respondents with these potential resources in terms of "effectiveness" because respondents may have connection or association with any of the potential resources, but it may or may not be effective. Here, effectiveness refers to the potential of the resource that could facilitate to convert the capital into other forms of capital such as economic capital, or potential of the resource to contribute in maintaining or enhancing social position in the social space of positions such as an employee could use social capital to excel or maintain his or his son's social position.

Therefore, respondents were asked to report effectiveness of their relationship with political, industrial, army and high ranked administrative individuals. Through this operationalization, the distribution of social capital was taken into account by nature of its effectiveness. The responses were measured on five-points likert scale that ranged from 0 = No relation at all to 4 = highly effective relationship (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.939, item = 18). The same questions were used to measure the effectiveness of relationship of father (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.933) and mother (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.890) with these authorities.

Such measurement is consistent with Bourdieu's conceptual framework in a number of ways. First, it did not merely measure connections, associations and relationships rather quality of relationship in terms of its effectiveness that clearly indicates that the relationship could plausibly makes itself evident as potential resource for agent in order to achieve a desired end where required. Secondly, it could reveal the unequal distribution of potential resources in relation with classes which assumes that dominant class, fractions of the class and agents with privileged background have more quantity and higher quality of relationship with these potential resources than lower class – here Bourdieu is aligned with power elite of Mills and social closure of Weber. Thirdly, it measures the trajectory, volume and volume of transformation of the capital within a family. Fourthly, it contributes in the formulation of social space of positions where the distribution of the capital within a field and across fields can be viewed in relation with cultural and economic capital – Bourdieu did not use social capital in construction of social space of positions –which in turn, would more profoundly and extensively explain class habitus. Lastly, other than economic and cultural capital, its magnitude of contribution in reproduction of unequal distribution of resources can be

enunciated. Moreover, the triangular relationship of capitals that Bourdieu did not evaluate empirically, could be appraised. In a nutshell, such measurement could contribute almost on all aspects of the general theory of practices and reproduction.

Club membership was also included in the measurement. Respondents were asked to mention if they and their parents have any club membership? The responses were dichotomously codified as 0 = No club membership and 1 = have a club membership. A follow up question was also asked that measured the name of the club(s). This question would help to differentiate the status of club membership. For example, if respondents had membership of 'Shapes' it showed high status club membership in Multan District – the membership charges almost 6000 PKR/day (almost 50$ per day) which is equivalent to per month income of a worker.

A dichotomous variable of social capital was developed through computation. The responses on five-points likert scale were computed. The mean value of computed scores were divided into two categories, using a cut point of mean (Respondent = 6.77, Father = 7.01, Mother = 2.29,). The scores below the mean were labeled lowbrow social capital, whereas, scores above the mean were included into highbrow social capital. The description of the capital is given in table 3.4. Table 3.5 showed correlation statistics of capitals developed through computation and MCKM (see section 3.3.1).

Table 3.4

Frequency and percentage distribution of social capital

Social Capital	Frequency	Percent
Respondent		
Low Social Capital	453	65.7
High Social Capital	237	34.3
Father		
Low Social Capital	449	65.1
High Social Capital	241	34.9
Mother		
Low Social Capital	527	76.4

High Social Capital	163	23.6
Total	690	100.0

Table 3.5

Correlation matrix of capitals and education

Sr#	Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	Education of respondent	1										
2	Education of father	.462**										
3	Education of mother	.362**	.421**									
4	Social capital of respondent	.095*	.159**	.054								
5	Social capital of father	.179**	.245**	.133**	.725**							
6	Social capital of mother	.138**	.098**	.108**	.549**	.581**						
7	Cultural capital of respondent	-.258**	-.329**	-.231**	-.391**	-.536**	-.314**					
8	Cultural capital of father	-.165**	-.278**	-.208**	-.330**	-.524**	-.291**	.799**				
9	Cultural capital of mother	.128**	.202**	.267**	.301**	.449**	.360**	-.734**	-.792**			
10	Economic capital of respondent	-.247**	-.374**	-.257**	-.439**	-.528**	-.378**	.687**	.535**	-.550**		
11	Economic capital of father	-.150**	-.295**	-.213**	-.368**	-.472**	-.364**	.555**	.499**	-.513**	.725**	
12	Economic capital of mother	.072	.036	.031	-.007	.047	.066	-.152**	-.141**	.151**	-.183**	-.203**

**. p>.001, *. p>.05.

3.2.4 Habitus.

Habitus is too subjective concept of Bourdieu that is almost impossible to measure but various researchers attempted to operationalize the concept e.g., Dumais (2002) used future aspirations to operationalize it. However, such operationalization is too narrowed to attain its bilateral relationship with social structure. Moreover, aspirations were only measured in educational field, thus confined to the context. However, this study measured habitus by economic, social, cultural, power and educational importance for the respondents on five points likert scale that ranged from 0 = Not important at all to 4 = Essential (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.716). Such measurement, on the one hand, would make it possible to measure its relationship with other forms of capital comprehensively and, on the other hand, would potentially contribute in the operationalization issues of the concept. Moreover, it can be used, as suggested by Cockerham & Hinote (2009), in relation with distance from the necessity and tastes of necessity (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 183-84) by cross classifying measures of habitus and the measures of economic capital (and other indicators that indicates necessity e.g. food). Table 3.6 is consisted of various measures of habitus in previous studies.

The coding of the scale ranges from 0 = not important at all, to 4 = essential. Such measurement could help to find out which aspect of habitus corresponds to upper, lower and middle class structure. Such as Bourdieu believed that economic and cultural capital is highly important for upper class, e.g. maintaining upper class culture would be essential, as the theory proposed, for social positions or respondents located in upper class.

Table 3.6

Operationalization of habitus in different researches

Author	**Subject**	**Measurement**	**Data**	**Area**
Dumais (2002)	8th grade Students	Occupational Expectation	National Education Longitudinal Study (1988)	USA
Nora (2004)	University Students	Personal Acceptance, Personal and Social Fit, Academic Interests, Early Influences,	First hand data	Southwest Hispania

		Approval by Others, Family Encouragement, Intuition, and Family Expectation		
Bodovski (2010)	Parents and Teacher	Parental Expectation	ECLS–K (National Center for Education Statistics)	USA
Núñez and Bowers (2011)	High School Students	Importance: college enrollment	the Educational Longitudinal Study 2002-06	USA
Gaddis (2013)	Youth	attitudinal variables: the Harter Scholastic Competence score (HSC) and the Berndt and Miller School Value score (SV)	Big Brothers/ Big Sisters of America program, 1990	USA

3.3 Methods

Southern Punjab attempting to be an independent province. Researcher of the current study selected the region (i.e. universe of the study) due to the confined resources for the study and its diverse occupational structure that has not been studied before in terms of cultural dimension of reproduction thesis. Moreover, the region has various zamindar and factory owners; other occupations such as farmers and shopkeepers are also available. Therefore, another purpose of selection of the region is to include zamindar in social space of positions of the region. The occupational diversification and various means of production e.g. land and machinery would provide a richer understanding of social space of positions. Table 3.7 consisted of population distribution of Southern Punjab.

Table 3.7

Population distribution of Southern Punjab

Divisions	**Districts (Population)**	**Tehsils**	**Tehsil Population**
Multan	Multan (4,745,109)	Multan City	2,258,570
		Multan Saddar	1,322,756
		Shujabad	609,631

		Jalalpur pirwala	554,152
	Vehari (2,897,446)	Vehari	928,166
		Mailsi	953,895
		Burewala	1,015,385
	Lodhran (1,700,620)	Lodhran	704,668
		Kahror pacca	500,939
		Duniyapur	495,013
	Khanewal (2,921,986)	Khanewal	856,793
		Jahanian	343,361
		Kabirwala	959,861
		Mian Channu	761,971
Dera Ghazi Khan	D.G. Khan (2,872,201)	D.G. Khan	1,226,612
		Kot CHutta	757,403
		Taunsa	675,756
	Muzaffargarh (4,325,483)	Muzaffargarh	1,624,472
		Alipur	639,748
		Koat addu	1,346,687
		Jatoi	714,576
	Rajanpur (1,995,958)	Jampur	849,086
		Rajanpur	706,868
		Rojhan	405,774
	Layyah (1,824,230)	Layyah	977,391
		Karor Lal Esan	594,639
		choubara	252,200
Bahawalpur	Bahawalpur (3,668,106)	Bahawalpur city	681,696
		Bahawalpur Saddar	574,950
		Ahmadpur	1,078,683
		Yazman	614,143
		Khairpur	262,628
		Hasilpur	456,006
	Bahalwalnagar (2,981,919)	Bahalwalnagar	2,981,919
		Chishtian	2,981,919

		Fort Abbas	423,529
		Haroonabad	525,598
		Minchinabad	526,428
	Rahim Yar Khan (4,814,006)	Rahim Yar Khan	1,530,330
		Khanpur	983,415
		Liaqatpur	1,035,509

Source: Pakistan Population Census 2017.

3.3.1 Sample size and sampling

Current study used stratified random sampling to select the true representatives of social positions. Initially, to measure the appropriate sample size for the study, Cochran's (1953, p. 54) sample size determination equation is used which is as follow:

$$n = \frac{z_{\alpha/2}^2 \,.\, \mathrm{p}(1-\mathrm{p})}{d^2}$$

Where:

$z_{\alpha/2}^2$ = 95% confidence of interval

p = Refined Activity Rate in Punjab defined as "the percentage of labor force to 10+ aged population" (Compendium of Gender Statistics of Pakistan, 2014, p. 76).

d^2 = Margin of error

Numerically, p = 0.491 (Pakistan Labor Force Survey 2013-14, p. 78) and $1 - \mathrm{p} = 0.15$, whereas, d = 5%.

$$n = \frac{(1.96)^2 \,.\, 0.491(1-0.491)}{(0.05)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{3.8416 \,.\, 0.249919}{0.0025} = 384$$

Such small sample size (almost 9 respondents of each social position from each division of Southern Punjab) cannot appropriately contribute to comprehend social space of positions

and to draw plausible conclusion. Therefore, considering the resources, researcher of the study reduced the error to 0.037.

$$n = \frac{(1.96)^2 \,.\, 0.491(1 - 0.491)}{(0.037)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{3.8416 \,.\, 0.249919}{0.001369} = 701.30 \; or \; 700$$

Thus, the sample size of the study is 700 respondents from three divisions of Southern Punjab. The sample then distributed among each division and social position by using equal proportion technique.

3.3.2 Allocation of sample size

After the determination of sample size and selection of the region, Equal Allocation Technique was used to distribute the sample size equally within stratified variable i.e. social position, and region i.e. three divisions in Southern Punjab. Although, there are several techniques to use in stratified random sampling, however, equal allocation technique does not violate any logic of sampling technique to select true representatives of social positions. Several scholars acknowledged that if the population is homogeneous then only one respondent is enough to represent the entire population.

Keeping in view the homogeneity of each stratum, it is appropriate to select equal number of each social position from each stratum regardless the total number of respondents in each stratum because each stratum is homogenous. Therefore, the most important thing to be considered is the resources for the study. As it is mentioned above that researcher increased the sample size due to the available resources therefore, it ultimately increased proportion of each stratum equally. The EAT is as follow:

$$n_i = \frac{n_s}{k} \qquad i = 1,2 \ldots n$$

n_i = sample size of each social position

n_s = Sample size

k = numbers of social positions

$$n_i = \frac{700}{14} = 50$$

Thus, researcher selected 50 respondents of each social position (for definition of each social position, see appendix 5, page 439). The calculated n_i is further allocated among three divisions by using equal proportion technique that directed him to include 16 respondents of each social position from each division. However, he excluded 10 factory owners from the analysis due to their insufficient data. Therefore, the final sample size for the study is 690 respondents. Table 3.8 and figure 3.1 showed selected social positions and regions from South Punjab respectively.

Table 3.8

List of the selected social positions

Social Positions of respondents			
Landlord / *Zamindar*	factory owner (40)	Manager	Supervisor
Salesman	Shopkeeper	University teacher	College teacher
School teacher	Medical Doctor	Small Farmer	Worker
Lawyer	Small businessman		

Due to the limited resources for the study, researcher selected only those social positions which can potentially contribute in class differentiation. Moreover,

1. Firstly, majority of the previous researches included these fourteen social positions, even social space of positions constructed in *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1984) incorporated some of these fourteen social positions –he did not include farmers and zamindar (see Bourdieu, 1984), which this research included due to the availability of these two occupational categories. Another reason to include farmer and zamindar is that majority of the population of south Punjab is associated with agricultural occupation especially growing, harvesting and selling agricultural products.
2. Secondly, these social positions are highly likely to represent class differentiation such as it could be presupposed that workers will be located in dominated, whereas, factory owner will be located in dominant class.

3. Thirdly, these occupational categories represent Pakistan Standard Classification of Occupation (2015).
4. Fourthly, these social positions are available in South Punjab.

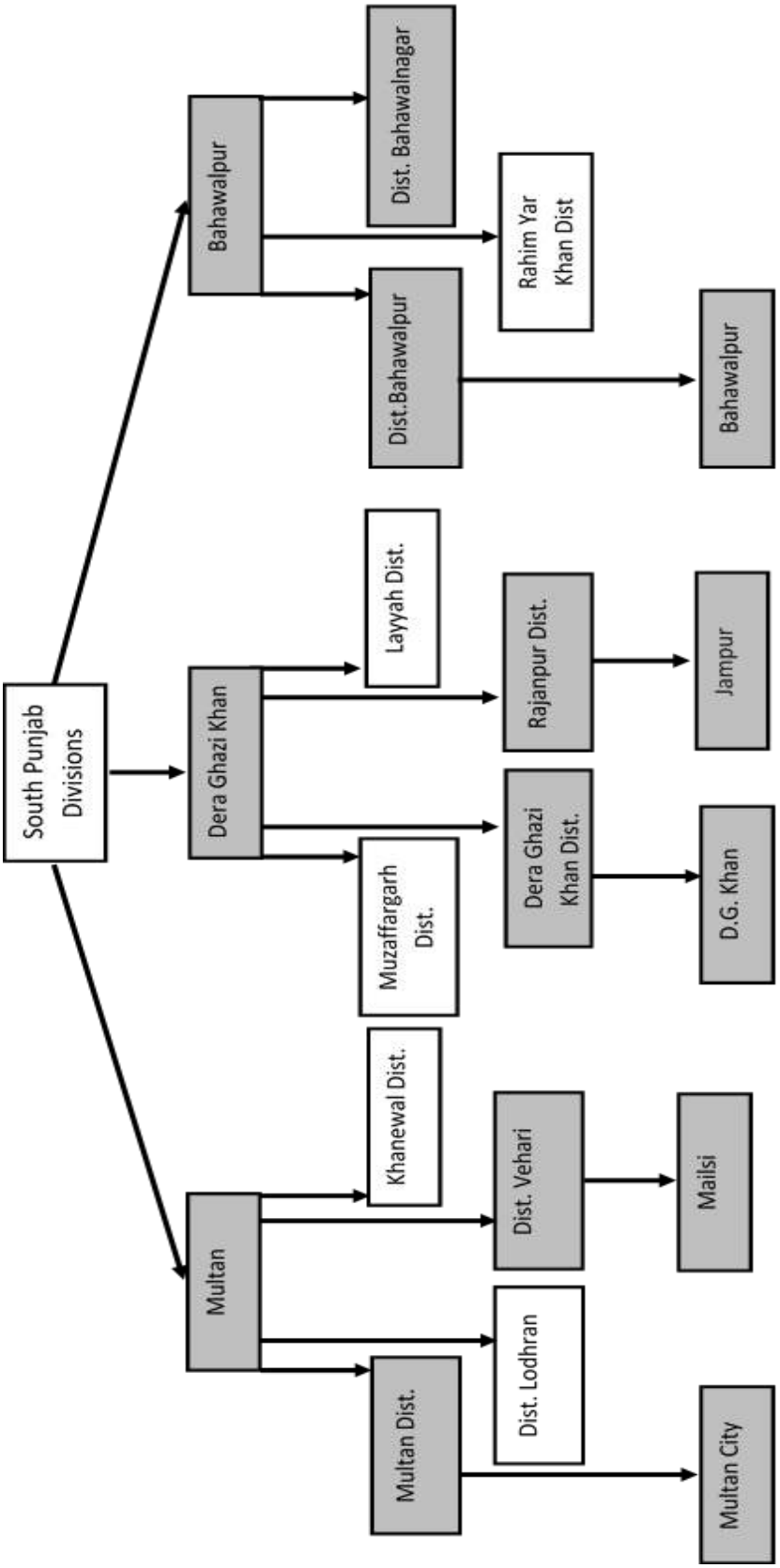

Figure 3.1 Selected (highlighted) regions from Southern Punjab.

3.3.3 Data collection

Social science research can broadly be classified into qualitative and quantitative approaches. Each approach has its defined method of data collection such as Neuman (2014) stated that quantitative approach meant to detect objective facts, it uses survey or experiment method of data collection, applies statistical analysis and draws specific inferences through hypothesis testing which should be deduced from theoretical framework or general principle of reality (p. 17).

The present study has quantitative research approach; therefore, researcher selected survey method of data collection. The method has several techniques to acquire valid data such as online survey, telephonic interview, etc. (Maxfield & Babbie, 2009, p. 185-195; Neuman, 2014, p. 345-349). However, he used widely appreciated and acknowledged survey technique of data collection i.e. face-to-face interview schedule.

Face-to-face interview schedule has several advantages that improve the quality and quantity of responses. Initially, it allows an interviewer to examine surroundings which is very important when economic or cultural status is one of the variables in a research. Bourdieu (1984) used the technique to measure cultural capital of respondents in France. Similarly, instead of asking respondents about type of furniture they have in their homes, a researcher can estimate the variable while just looking around. It also guides to estimate economic and cultural status of the respondents such as observing type of house, apparels, home appliances, style of communication, dress pattern, behavior and other important material possessions e.g. cars and bikes. An interviewer can estimate income, linguistic and embodied cultural capital of the respondents by observing these variables. However, the interviewer must be educated and trained in the respective field in order to make such observations and elicit plausible estimates. Therefore, researcher hired a research team which was not only educated but also has been engaged in several research projects.

3.3.3.1 Reliability and validity

Furthermore, before hiring a research team for data collection, researcher took some measures to ensure reliability and validity of constructed tool of the study. The measures were to consult with experts, hiring of educated and expert team, training of the team, its supervision and reliability test statistics.

Initially, the finalized questionnaire were sent to two external reviewers along with a brief description of the study, objectives, hypotheses and theoretical framework. One external reviewer was professor of sociology and second was professor of statistics. Their comments on the tool were received and incorporated. The external reviewers approved the questionnaire. The letters of approval are attached at the end of the thesis (see appendix 10, page 480). After the approval of external reviewers, a research team was hired for training and data collection.

3.3.3.2 Research team and training

When the preliminary imperative parts of research i.e. sample size determination, sampling techniques, methods of data collection and approval of constructed tool, were finalized, the researcher hired a research team to commence operational part of the research.

The research team consisted of 14 researchers including author of this dissertation. Most of the members of the team were pursuing doctoral degree in sociology. However, some of the members have social science background. It reveals that the team was competent to understand the tool of the study, issues of research and gravity of situation while collecting data. The description of the team is given in table 3.9.

The training of research team was divided into three sessions. In the first session, the team was given a lecture about basics of social science research with specific focus on quantitative approach. At the end of the session, questions were answered.

The second session introduced the study in relation with reproduction theories and purpose of the research. The team was trained in order to comprehend epistemology of the study so that when they encounter with some uncertain questions in the field they must be aware how to deal with it in order to attain correct response from the respondents that should not distort theoretical background of the study. This session also introduced target population of the study and field area. The team was given briefing about target population and how to interact with the respondents to create an environment which facilitates the respondents in order to acquire proper responses.

Lastly, finalized questionnaire of the study was given to the team. Initially, briefing to the team about each section of the tool, nature of questions and purpose of each section that was designed against each variable of the study was given. They were instructed to read each

question meticulously and questions were welcomed. All questions from the team were answered reasonably.

Table 3.9

Profession and education of research team

Name	**Profession**	**Education**
Muhammad Luqman	Part Time lecturer Sociology	PhD scholar, Sociology
Asia Rasool	School Teacher	PhD scholar, Sociology
Amna Mushtaq	Lecturer Sociology	PhD scholar, Sociology
Ambreen Fatima	Part time lecturer Sociology	PhD scholar, Sociology
Muhammad Siraj	Lecturer Sociology	M.Phil. Sociology
Muhammd Saqib	School Teacher	M.Sc. Sociology
Muhammad Farooq	Lecturer Sociology	M.Phil. Sociology
Muhammad Usman	Businessman	M.Sc. Sociology
Muhammad Bashir	Entrepreneur	M.Phil. Philosophy
Majid Raza	Journalist	M.Phil. Mass Communication
Majid Piya	Operational Manager	M.B.A.
Ch. Tahir Rauf	High Court Lawyer	LLM Student
Iqbal Zamir	Businessman	M.B.A.

The team, then, instructed to fill the question by themselves and pay attention if any question cause problem in understanding. Some members of the team pointed out trivial concerns in understanding some statements. These issues were resolved. When the team prepared to move in the field, pilot study was conducted.

3.3.3.3 Pilot study and field supervision

Pilot study was conducted in each division of Southern Punjab. Ten questionnaires were completed from each division. Despite the team was trained to ask questions in a language that respondents feel comfortable with, yet the team was instructed to identify the questions that respondents do not understand or hesitate to answer.

Almost all team members pointed out that respondents hesitated to answer about their economic capital and relationship of mothers with other persons. However, female members of the team replied that female respondents did not hesitate while answering us. Therefore,

female team members were instructed to interview female respondents. however, when required they may also collect data from male respondents. Moreover, the questions regarding economic capital were revised from cost of the material possessions, such as cost of car, to type of material possessions. The revisions were made after discussion on the issue with supervisor.

During data collection, supervisor and author of the dissertation frequently remained in contact with the research team and gained day-to-day feedback. Each week the collected data was reviewed by the supervisor and entered into SPSS after his approval. During the data collection, each problem that team faced was attempted to resolve such as accommodation issues.

3.4. Analysis

The statistical techniques for the analysis in the present study is selected focusing upon the major objectives of the study. The first objective of the study was dealing with social space of positions. Therefore, Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) was selected to construct the space. Moreover, MCA was also used to explore relationship of each variable e.g. economic capital, with social positions. The analysis would simultaneously deal with other concepts of reproduction theory such as homology of practices, conditions of existence, distance from necessity, trajectory, volume and composition of capitals, etc. Furthermore, the social space constructed through MCA also used to identify classes while incorporating capitals and social positions of the respondents in the space.

The advance form of correspondence analysis (CA) is MCA (Abdi & Valentin, 2007, p. 01). CA is a technique of categorical data analysis which aims to reduce multidimensional space into low dimensional space in order to understand the structure of association among variables (Beh & Lombardo, 2014, p. 73).

The correspondence analysis aims to extract correspondence matrix P from a I x J contingency table N. In notations (adapted from Greenacre, 2017),

$$P = p_{ij} = \frac{n_{ij}}{\sum_i \sum_j n_{ij}}$$

In the equation, n_{ij} are frequencies in I x J contingency table and $\sum_i \sum_j n_{ij} = 1^T \mathrm{N} 1$ is grand total. The *profile*: a set of relative frequencies (Greenacre, 2017, p. 09), of rows and columns can be computed, if I x J table is consisted of variables X and Y, where variable X

has I categories and variable Y has J categories. A specific category (ith) of X can be denoted as $X_i, i = 1, 2, \ldots I$ and Y (jth) can be $Y_j, i = 1, 2, \ldots J$. The row and column profiles are denoted as $n_{i+} = \sum_j n_{ij}$ and $n_{+j} = \sum_i n_{ij}$ respectively, whereas, the grand total of I x J table can be denoted as $n_{++} = \sum_i \sum_j n_{ij}$. A complete set of row and column profiles can be denoted by matrixes R and C respectively**.**

After computing row and column profiles, *averages* are another important concept in CA which is division of n_{i+} and n_{+j} by n_{++}, or

$$\overline{r} = \frac{\sum_i n_{ij}}{\sum_i \sum_j n_{ij}}$$

$$\overline{c} = \frac{\sum_j n_{ij}}{\sum_i \sum_j n_{ij}}$$

Where:

$\overline{r}$ is average row profile and $\overline{c}$ is average column profile. The row and column masses ($r_i$and c_j respectively) can be computed through

$$r_i = \sum_{j=1}^{J} p_{ij} = r = \mathrm{P}1$$

$$c_j = \sum_{i=1}^{I} p_{ij} = r = \mathrm{P}^T 1$$

Further, the masses of diagonal matrices of row and column are $D_r = diag(r)$ and $D_c = diag(c)$ respectively. The computation of row and column profiles' coordinate using singular value decomposition needed to measure standardize residuals matrix **S**. The computation of the matrix is $\mathrm{S} = \mathrm{D_r}^{-\frac{1}{2}}(\mathrm{P} - \mathrm{rc}^{\mathrm{T}})\mathrm{D_c}^{-\frac{1}{2}}$ and $\mathrm{S} = \mathrm{UD}_\alpha\mathrm{V}^{\mathrm{T}}$ is singular value decomposition of S, where $\mathrm{U}^{\mathrm{T}}\mathrm{U} = \mathrm{V}^{\mathrm{T}}\mathrm{V} = \mathrm{I}$ and the descending order of diagonal matrix is D_α. The standard coordinates of rows and columns (Φ and r respectively) are $\Phi = \mathrm{D_r}^{-\frac{1}{2}}\mathrm{U}$ and r =

$D_r^{-\frac{1}{2}}V$ respectively. The principle coordinates of rows and columns (F and G respectively) are $F = \Phi D_\alpha$ and $\sum_i \sum_j n_{ij} = rD_\alpha$.

The most important concept of CA is inertia which can be computed through dividing χ^2 by $\sum_i \sum_j n_{ij}$ (Greenacre, 2017, p. 28). However, as ve mentioned the measurement of masses, it can also be computed through,

$$\sum_{i=1}^{I} \sum_{i=1}^{J} \frac{(p_{ij} - r_i c_j)^2}{r_i c_j}$$

Further, the χ^2-distance between row i and i' is

$$\sum_{i=1}^{I} \left(\frac{p_{ij}}{r_i} - \frac{p_{i\prime j}}{r_{i\prime}} \right)^2 /_{C_j}$$

and between j and j' is

$$\sum_{i=1}^{I} \left(\frac{p_{ij}}{c_j} - \frac{p_{ij\prime}}{c_{j\prime}} \right)^2 /_{r_i}$$

To assess class reproduction, perpetuation of inherited class by next generation and conversion of capitals, researcher selected Log linear Modeling; the model can be seen in chapter 2. There are some reasons to select log linear model. First, it deals with nominal measurement. Second, it satisfies relational logic. Third, it can test hypotheses which MCA cannot do. Fourth, logistic regression demands new model for each dependent variable, whereas, log linear model can deal with several variables in one equation. Fifth, log linear model is designed to find a model that fits the data.

To describe log linear model, researcher adapted notations from Lawal, B. and Lawal, H. (2003). Like correspondence analysis, log linear model also begins with probabilities of frequencies in a contingency table *N*. However, instead of cell probabilities π_{ij}, loglinear models use expected frequencies $n\pi_{ij}$ (Agresti, 2007, p. 205), where n is number of observations in a I x J contingency table.

If a 2 X 2 contingency table comprised variables X and Y which have ith ($X_i, i = 1, 2, \ldots I$) and jth categories ($Y_j, i = 1, 2, \ldots J$), the expected values $\widehat{m}_{ij} = n\pi_{ij}$ would equal to

addition of all parameters in saturated model (i.e. number of parameters in a model and cells in a table are equal, Lawal, B., & Lawal, H., 2003, p. 171) with zero degree of freedom. However, one important assumption of loglinear modelling is to select a model with minimum parameters. Therefore, loglinear modelling begins with model of independence. If 2 X 2 contingency table comprised variables X and Y, the model of independence would be

$$l_{ij} = \mu + \lambda_i^X + \lambda_j^y$$

and saturated model would be

$$l_{ij} = \mu + \lambda_i^X + \lambda_j^Y + \lambda_{ij}^{XY}$$

because it contains all parameters and interaction terms. In the model the natural log of $\widehat{m}_{ij}$ is l_{ij} and $\ln(n)$ is μ. The process to measure other parameters are mentioned below.

In order to simplify the process, initially, taking natural log of all observed values in 2 X 2 contingency table is better. In this way, the marginal total of row can be denoted as

$$l_{i+} = \sum_j \ln(n_{ij}),$$

marginal total of column can be denoted as

$$l_{+j} = \sum_i \ln(n_{ij})$$

and l_{++}, which is grand total of observed values transformed into natural log can be computed through

$$l_{++} = \sum_i \ln(n_{ij})$$

The mean of row and column can be denoted as $\overline{l_{i+}}$ and $\overline{l_{+j}}$. Then, the process of parameter estimation can be computed through

$$\hat{\mu} = \frac{\ln(\widehat{m}_{11}) + \ln(\widehat{m}_{11}) + \ln(\widehat{m}_{21}) + \ln(\widehat{m}_{22})}{4}$$

$$\hat{\lambda}_1^X = \frac{\ln(\widehat{m}_{11}) + \ln(\widehat{m}_{11})}{2} - \frac{\ln(\widehat{m}_{11}) + \ln(\widehat{m}_{12}) + \ln(\widehat{m}_{21}) + \ln(\widehat{m}_{22})}{4}$$

or alternatively, $\hat{\lambda}_1^Y$ can be computed as

$$\hat{\lambda}_1^Y = \frac{\ln(\widehat{m}_{11}) \text{ x } \ln(\widehat{m}_{21})}{\ln(\widehat{m}_{12}) \text{ x } \ln(\widehat{m}_{22})}$$

Interestingly, the interaction term parameter is function of the corresponding log odd ratio (Lawal, B. and Lawal, H., 2003, 173). Therefore, the following formula of odd ratio is equal to the corresponding parameter.

$$\ln \hat{\theta} = \ln \frac{(n_{11}) \text{x } (n_{22})}{(n_{21}) \text{x } (n_{12})} = 4(\hat{\lambda}_{11}^{XY})$$

The model selection criteria are Chi-Square, Maximum Likelihood, Bayesian Information (BIC) and Akaike's Information Criteria (AIC). The equations of AIC and BIC are as follow:

$$AIC = G^2 - 2d \text{ and}$$

$$BIC = G^2 - 2d \ln(N)$$

Where, G^2 is the likelihood ratio, d is degree of freedom and ln (N) is the total number of observation in a I x J table.

In order to assess mediation models researcher used path analysis in AMOS which could, simultaneously evaluate the proposed relationship of several variables. In the models, he used variables developed through MCKM.

3.4.1 Construction of composite variable

In order to develop a composite variable of cultural and economic capital, this study used a recently suggested method named Multiple Correspondence *K*-Means Model (MCKM) by Fordellone and Vichi (2017). The model suggests using multiple correspondence analysis for dimension reduction at first stage for categorical data. The second stage is to use *K*-Means clustering analysis on object scores of MCA to detect best possible clusters that will be further

used in MCA again to show that the explored clusters could better discriminate categories and improve interpretation of homogeneity of attributes. Costa, et al. (2013) also used similar method to identify clusters in aging perspective.

Principle component (PCA) and categorical principle component analysis (CATPCA) are also acknowledged approaches for data reduction and development of index. Demographic and Health Survey used PCA to develop wealth index. Similarly, some researches also used the method to develop a composite measure of cultural capital (see Lewika, 2005, 2013; Lee, Chung, & Park, 2016). Moreover, PCA is not a preferred method for categorical variables, therefore, CATPCA has been suggested. However, researcher of this study used, initially, PCA, CATPCA and MCA which resulted similar object scores (See Appendix 6, 447). It revealed that any of the methods could be used for clustering data. Researcher preferred MCA.

To develop a composite variable of cultural capital, all measures of the capital inserted in MCA and the object scores were saved. Figure 3.3 showed the dispersion of the measures on two-dimensional solution. The scores of each of the dimensions were used for clustering data. The results of *K*-Means analysis (Figure 3.2a) showed that two dimensions were substantively different by clusters.

Moreover, researcher again run MCA with identified clusters and cultural activities to explore which cluster is representing highbrow and lowbrow cultural capital. Figure 3.3 showed the graphical results of the MCA. The figure showed that cultural activities were divided into two separate groups. The lower portion of the figure is consisted of cultural

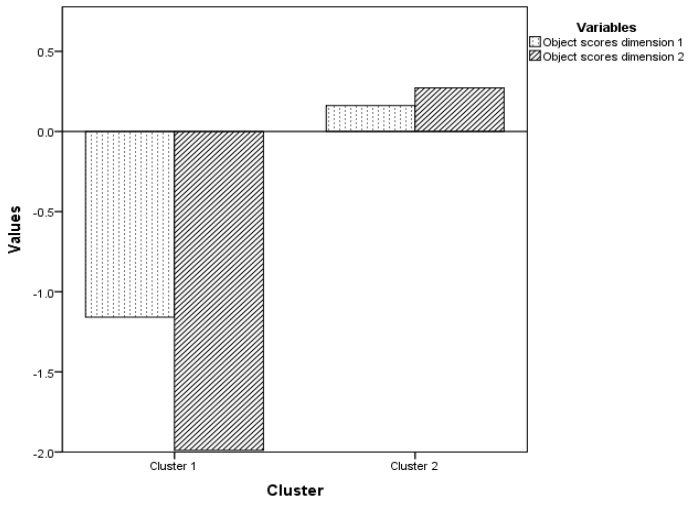

Figure 3.2a. Distribution of object scores of cultural capital by clusters

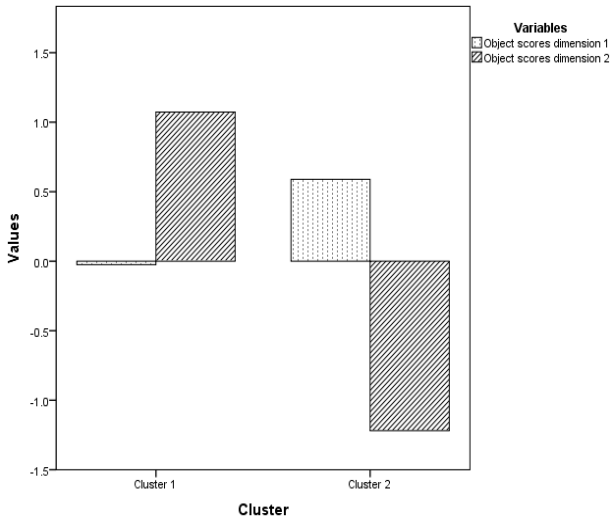

Figure 3.2b. Distribution of object scores of economic capital by clusters

activities that respondents performed, whereas, the upper portion of the figure comprised respondents who do not perform the activities. Therefore, cluster 1 and 2 were labeled highbrow and lowbrow cultural capital respectively. In other words, the clusters of cultural capital measures represent their measures appropriately. The squares in the figure representing K-Means clusters of the capital.

The same method was used to explore clusters of economic capital. *K*-means analysis on object scores of economic capital shows that the clusters are substantively different (see figure 3.2b). Moreover, the MCA also depicts that the clusters are representing the measures of economic capital i.e. low and high economic capital (see figure 3.4). The upper portion of the figure comprised measures of the capital which representing low economic capital relative to the lower portion of the figure. The lower portion of the figure shows measures of the capital representing higher economic capital. The clusters in the figure represent the lower and higher economic capital.

Lastly, social capital was dichotomized by computing codes assigned to each category of the variable. Then, the computed scores were distributed into two groups by taking mean as cut point. The scores above the mean value were included into highbrow social capital group and scores below the mean were labeled lowbrow social capital. The frequency and percentage distribution of the dichotomized scores are given in table 3.4.

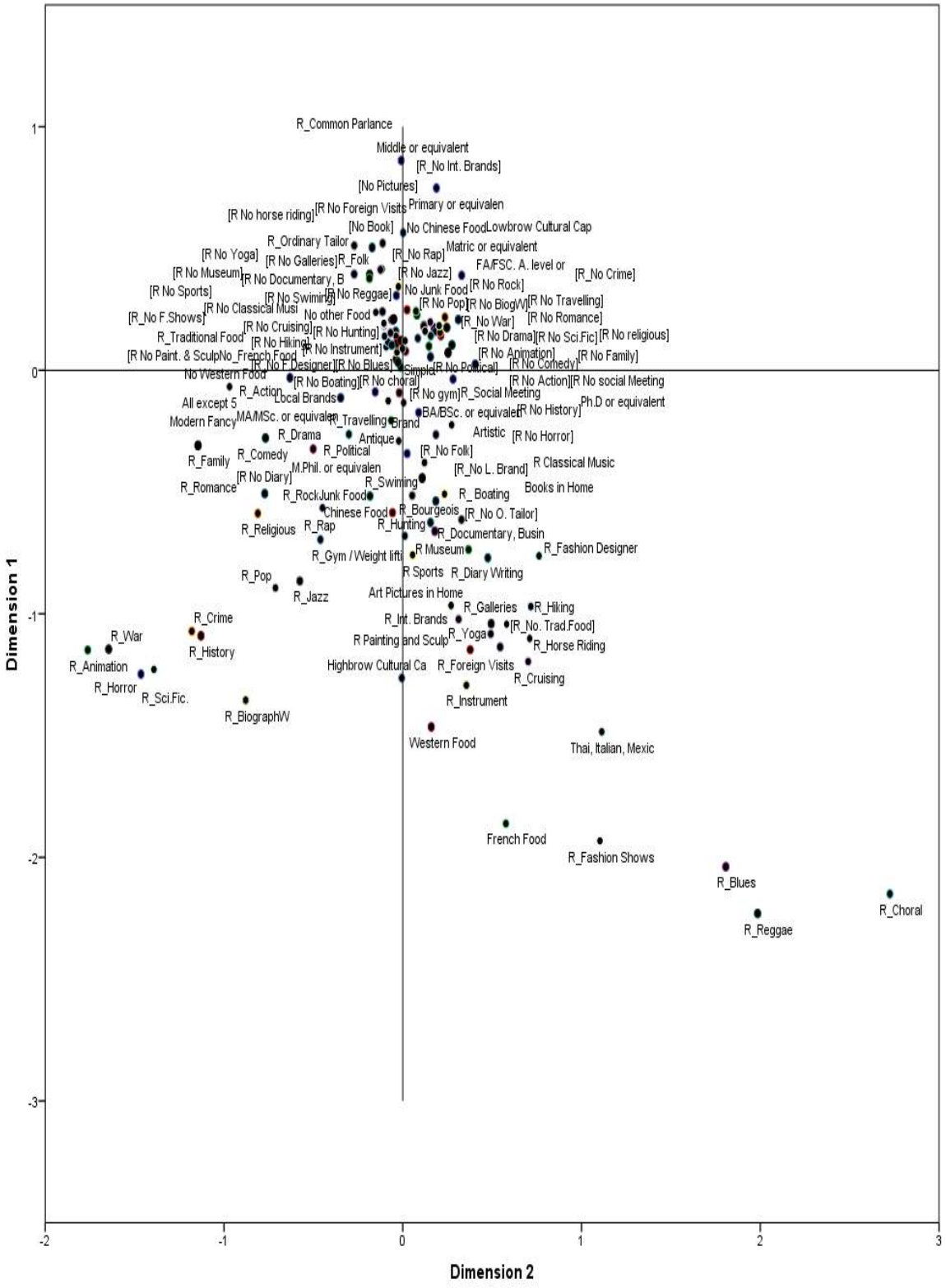

Figure 3.3 Dispersion of cultural capital on two-dimensional solution.

Note: the two dimensions solution accounted for by 24.4% of variance in the data. The inertia of dimension 1 is 0.161 with the eigenvalue of 9.316 and alpha of 0.908. Dimension 2 accounted for by 8.4% of the variance with the eigenvalue of 4.86 and alpha of 0.81.

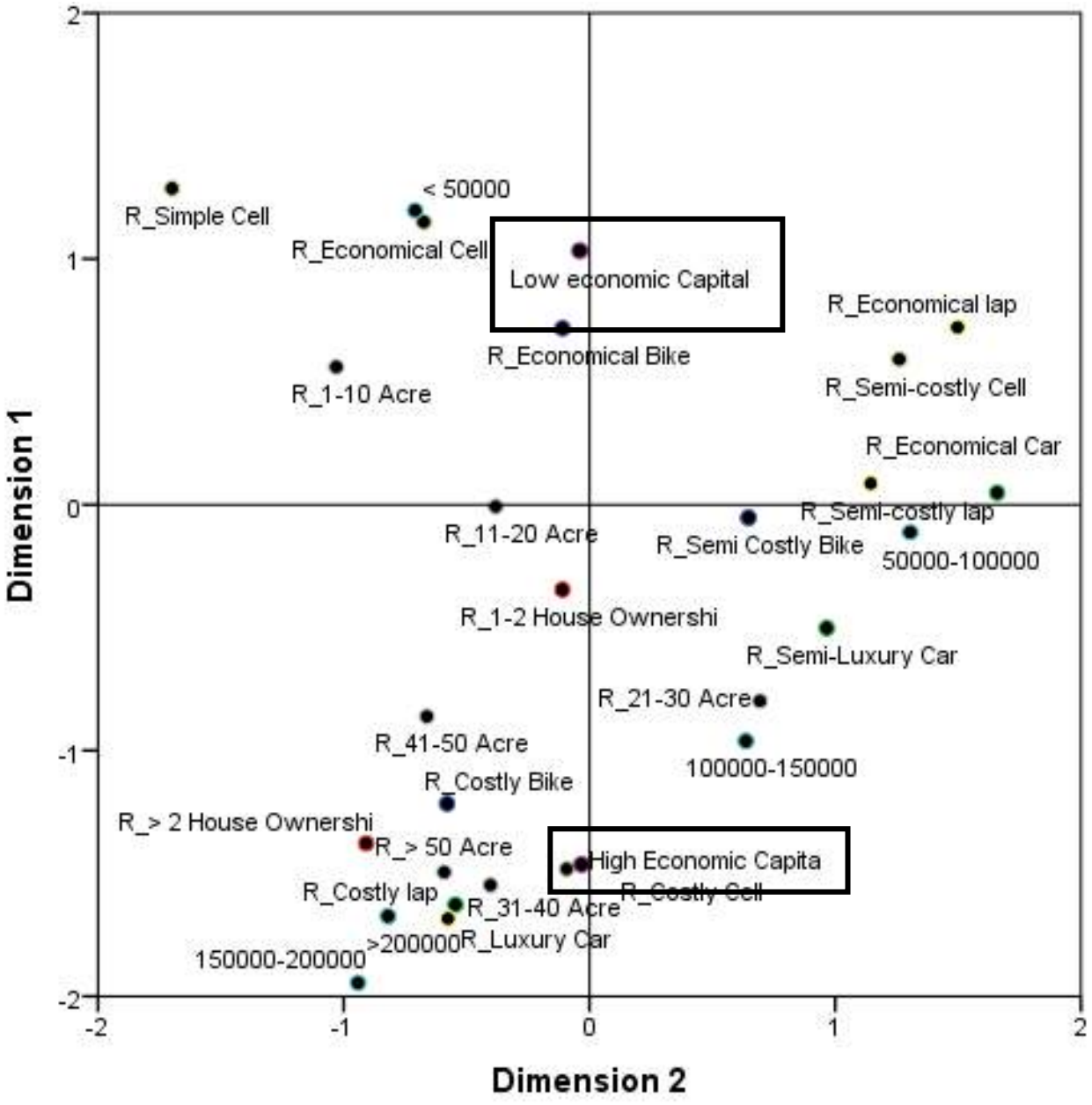

Figure 3.4 Dispersion of economic capital on two-dimensional solution.

Note: the total inertia of two dimensions is 1.08. The inertia of dimension 1 and 2 is 0.704 and 0.734 respectively. Eigenvalue of dimension 1 is 5.636 with alpha = 0.94. The dimension 2 accounted for by 37.4% of the variance with the eigenvalue of 2.99 and alpha of 0.76.

3.5. Conclusion

The chapter concludes that the operationalization of each capital in previous studies did not correspond reproduction theory and were narrowed. However, some studies attempted to measure capital exhaustively e.g. cultural capital in Sullivan' (2003) studies, but the studies violated relational logic of the theory. Therefore, the study introduced a comprehensive measurement, as much as possible, of each variable which did not violate the basic assumptions of reproduction theory.

Firstly, the researcher agreed with Sullivan's assertion that previous studies measured cultural capital narrowly or confined its measurement to highbrow cultural capital only. Therefore, he measured the capital exhaustively and exclusively. Secondly, he described (as in chapter 2) that Bourdieu's economic capital is vague and ambiguous. However, he disagreed with Zhou and Logan that the capital is nothing more than money because Bourdieu's operationalization of the capital is identical to physical and financial capital. Therefore, he operationalized the capital by using its surrogates. Thirdly, the current study clarified that Bourdieu's social capital is not identical to the conceptualization in Coleman's and Putnam's theory. Therefore, it measured the concept through potential connections on the bases of the effectiveness of the connections because a potential connection may also not be effective e.g. to achieve a desired end, thus, cannot be potential. It also included club membership in the operationalization. The construction of composite variable also based upon relational logic and multidimensional assumption of the theory.

Fourthly, the operationalization of habitus is a challenging task due to its too subjective description and multiple roles in reproduction theory. The current study view that multiple roles as advantage to operationalize the concept. Therefore, I disagreed with Dumais and Gaddis assertion that only aspiration in education field is appropriate operationalization of habitus. He suggested that the aspiration could be in the field of economy, politics, religious, family and so forth. Therefore, he measures the concept in various fields in terms of importance.

Lastly, such measurements and triptych model provided concrete chances to assess reproduction theory holistically because it is an integrative theory which, he suggested, should not be studied partly.

Chapter 4

Analysis and Results

Introduction of chapter

The chapter is divided into three sections. First section of the chapter dealt with univariate analysis which aimed to describe the data to provide basic understanding about respondents' and parents' demographic information and other characteristics. It also incorporated the description of cultural, social and economic capital. Further, some univariate tables were divided into two or three sub-tables (e.g. 4.3a and 4.3b) to accommodate readers in the way that they can view the organized data and its description simultaneously. Only the last sub-table has total percentage of responses and sample size because the previous tables could not add up to total sample size and percentage. Some univariate tables also do not have the total because it comprises one variable with various indicators which were measured separately, therefore, frequency and percentage distribution of each indicator represents total sample size. Further, the description did not consist of computed or re-coded or finalized variables e.g. cultural capital generated through Multiple Correspondence K-Means Analysis (MCKM). These re-coded variables were used in advance analysis, in log linear and structure equation models.

The second section comprise association of social positions with capitals and other important variables e.g. habitus. Considering the nature of measurement of variables, the section consisted of Correspondence and Multiple Correspondence Analysis (CA and MCA respectively) to explore association among variables. When association between indicators of two variables is aimed to explore, this study used CA. However, if more than two variables were to be used to explore association among them, it used MCA. The section also introduced the social space of positions and lifestyle as constructed by Bourdieu in *Distinction* (1984), *The State Nobility* (1996), *The field of cultural production* (1993a) etc. The space was constructed to explore whether it is chiastic? Moreover, the space was also used to explore classes, distance from necessity and homogeneity of practices.

The third section of the chapter comprised assessment of class reproduction and mediation models. The class reproduction was evaluated through log linear model of homogeneous association which could deal with many categorical variables simultaneously.

The model also assessed the proposition of reproduction of capitals, perpetuation of inherited class by next generation and conversion of capitals into each other. The model incorporated the variables constructed through MCKM. The mediation models were tested through structure equation model. The model also used the variables constructed through MCKM. However, the variable of cultural capital did not encompass institutionalized cultural capital because it was dependent variable in the model.

Lastly, findings of each section were supported by previous studies. However, in discussion, researcher also mentioned those studies whose findings were contrary to this study. The section dealt with overall major findings of the study.

4.1 Univariate analysis

Table 4.1a

Frequency and percentage distribution of demographic information of the respondents

Variable	Category	Frequency	Percentage
Age	≤ 20	10	1.4
	21-25	129	18.7
	26-30	236	34.2
	31-35	157	22.8
	36-40	91	13.2
	41-45	30	4.3
	>45	37	5.4
	Mean = 31.56	SD = 7.31	
Gender	Female	126	18.3
	Male	564	81.7
Language	English	34	4.9
	Urdu	240	34.8
	Punjabi	201	29.1
	Saraiki	208	30.1
	Other	07	1.0
Total		690	100

Table 4.1a and 4.1b comprised demographic information of the respondents. Table 4.1a is consisted of age, gender and language of the respondents. The table showed that majority of the respondents (76%) were in 21-35 age cohort and only 1.4% respondents were under the age of ≤20 (the cohort is 18-20). Moreover, the mean age of the respondents is 31.6 years with standard deviation of 7.31.

The table also showed that majority of the respondents were males (81.7%). However, 18.3% respondents were females. It was found that more than one fourth of the respondents used to speak Punjabi (29.1%) while 30.1% speak Saraiki language in their homes.

Interestingly, it is also found that a small percentage of the respondents used to speak English (5%) and other language (1%), whereas, 35% respondents used to speak Urdu in their homes. The other language is Balochi because in Dera Ghazi Khan and Rajanpur, most of the people have Baloch caste and they used to speak the same language in their homes.

Overall, the table revealed that percentage of the respondents' age ranged between 1.4 and 34.2 percent. Majority of the respondents are male, and majority of the respondents used to speak Urdu in their homes.

The highest percentage of speaking Urdu language (35%) revealed a gradual decline of regional dialects. Pakistan Census 1998 showed that 4.51% population of Punjab used to speak Urdu language (Punjabi = 75.2 and Saraiki = 17.4%). Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey (PDHS) 2006-07 reported that 6.4% respondents used to speak Urdu in Punjab which increased by 2.1% in 2012-13. Similarly, Punjabi and Saraiki languages also decreased by 3.7% and 1.5% from 2006-07 to 2012-13 in Punjab respectively. Rahman (2006) also noted the gradual decline of regional dialects and argued that Urdu speaking persons have been perceived as civilized and cultured in Pakistan which increased the tendency of people (who used to speak regional dialects) to speak the language to pose them suave and sophisticated (p. 75).

Table 4.1b

Frequency and percentage distribution of demographic information of the respondents

Variable	Category	Frequency	Percentage
Family Income	<50000 PKR	193	28.0
	50000-100000 PKR	214	31.0
	100000-150000 PKR	69	10.0
	150000-200000 PKR	56	8.1
	>200000 PKR	158	22.9
	Mean = 405171.84	SD = 9830000.17	
Family Type	Intact	561	81.3
	Non-Intact	129	18.7
Marital Status	Single	231	33.5
	Married	453	65.7
	Divorced	04	0.6
	Widow	02	0.3
Married within Biradari	No	120	17.4
	Yes	339	49.1
	Unmarried	231	33.5
Father Married Within Biradari	No	80	11.6
	Yes	610	88.4
Permanent Residence	Rural	232	33.6
	Urban	458	66.4
Type of School	Public	412	59.7
	Private	255	37.0
Total		690	100

Table 4.1b showed that per month income of family is highly skewed. The skewness statistic of family income (Mean = 405171.84 PKR, SD = 983000.17) is 3.8 with standard error

of 0.093. After categorization of family income, a greater extent of its difference across respondents is found. The table showed that the family income of 28% respondents was <50000 PKR per month. However, the income of 41% respondents was >100000 PKR per month (100000-150000 PKR = 10%, 150000-200000 PKR = 8.1% and >200000 = 22.9%).

The table also showed that percentage of the respondents living in urban area is higher than rural areas (34% and 66.4% respectively). Furthermore, 60% of the respondents studied from public school and 37% of the respondents went to private schools.

Previous studies reported that intact family system is prevalent in the Pakistan (e.g., Amin, Ali, Ahmad, & Zafar, 2010; Agha, 2016). Similarly, this research found that 81.3% of the respondents were living in intact family system and only 19% of the respondents belonged to non-intact family system. The table also showed that very small percentage of the respondents were divorced (0.6%) and widowed (0.3%). Some of the respondents were unmarried (34%), whereas, majority of the respondents were married (66%).

Generally, majority of the respondents were living in intact family system and urban areas. Majority of the respondents and their fathers married within biradari, studied in public schools and was earning >100000 PKR monthly.

Many studies explored that people tend to marry within their family in Pakistan (e.g. Hussain & Bittles, 1998; Hussain, 1999; Makino, 2015). Similarly, the table also revealed the prevalence of marriage within Biradari or caste in first (88.4%) and second (49.1%) generation. It also indicates that marriage within family or biradari decreased by 39.3% in second generation. These findings supported the study of Jones (2010) who explored change in marriage patterns in Asia. Specifically, Farooq, et. al. (2015) found that within 1960 to 1980, close relative marriage system prevailed in rural Punjab. After 1990, inter-caste marriages substituted the former marriage system.

Table 4.2

Frequency and percentage distribution of social position

Education	Respondent		Father		Mother	
	f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Zamindar	50	7.2	80	11.6	17	2.5
Factory Owner	40	5.8	39	5.7	02	0.3
Manager	50	7.2	21	3.0	01	0.1
Supervisor	50	7.2	09	1.3	–	–
Salesman	50	7.2	08	1.2	–	–
Shopkeeper	50	7.2	28	4.1	02	0.3
University Teacher	50	7.2	07	1.0	07	1.0
College Teacher	50	7.2	11	1.6	04	0.6
School Teacher	50	7.2	27	3.9	11	1.6
Medical Doctor	50	7.2	18	2.6	03	0.4
Lawyer	50	7.2	13	1.9	02	0.3
Small Farmer	50	7.2	113	16.4	–	–
Worker	50	7.2	103	14.9	02	0.3
Small Business	50	7.2	98	14.2	03	0.4
Engineer	–	–	14	2.0	–	–
Hikmat	–	–	07	1.0	–	–
Politician	–	–	01	0.1	01	0.1
Govt. Employee	–	–	60	8.7	06	0.9
Retired	–	–	33	4.8	–	–
House Wife	–	–	–	–	629	91.2
Total	690	100	690	100	690	100

Table 4.2 showed the description of social position of the respondents and their parents. As mentioned in chapter three, researcher selected 50 (7.2%) respondents of each social position from Southern Punjab. The table showed that all social positions of the respondents have same percentage (7.2%) except factory owners (5.8%) because 10 respondents were excluded due to insufficient responses. Among the social positions of fathers, most of them were small farmers (16.4%), workers (14.9%), small businessmen (14.2%) and zamindar

(11.6%). The data revealed that majority of the mothers were housewives (91.2%), whereas, 2.5% were zamindar.

It was also found that all zamindar respondents have retained the social position of their father, whereas, 85% factory owners perpetuated the social position of their father (see appendix 7, page 448). Interestingly, none of the supervisors has the same occupational origin. Further, very small percentage of salesmen (4%), university teachers (10%) and college teachers (8%) reproduced the social positions of their father. Among lower social positions, 88% small farmers, 60% workers and 74% small businessmen perpetuated the social positions of their fathers. The difference between father and respondents' social potions revealed they moved either up or downward on the occupational ladder.

Therefore, it was explored that 7.5% factory owners, 8% university teachers, 12% college teachers, 2% schoolteachers, 22% medical doctors and 8% small businessmen have zamindari origin. In other words, their father was zamindar, but they did not reproduce the social position. Similarly, 10% medical doctors did not perpetuate factory ownership as their social position.

Interestingly, most of the respondents revealed upward mobility with respect to the social positions as table (see appendix 7, page 448) showed that 36% schoolteachers came from small farmers background and 32% managers have small business social origin. Similarly, father of 18% university teachers, 14% supervisors and 6% managers were workers. Fathers of 7.5% small businessmen were factory owners, whereas, father of 32% managers were small businessmen. Apart from upward mobility, the cross tabulation also revealed the downward mobility such as 8% small businessmen have zamindari social origin. The occupation of the father of 2% of supervisors were managers. Further, 4 and 8 percent salesmen have social origin of small businessmen and supervisors, respectively.

Table 4.3a

Frequency and percentage distribution of economic capital measures

Economic Capital	Category	Respondent		Father		Mother	
		f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Mobile Phone	No Phone	17	2.5	190	27.5	393	57.0
	Costly	211	30.6	130	18.8	96	13.9
	Semi-Costly	202	29.3	115	16.7	51	7.4
	Economical	184	26.7	147	21.3	83	12.0
	Simple	76	11.0	108	15.7	67	9.7
Laptop	No Laptop	368	53.3	606	87.8	656	95.1
	Costly	123	17.8	60	8.7	27	3.9
	Semi-Costly	155	22.5	19	2.8	02	0.3
	Economical	44	6.4	05	0.7	05	0.7
Motorbike	No Motorbike	302	43.8	450	65.2	–	–
	Costly	55	8.0	30	4.3	–	–
	Semi-Costly	54	7.8	36	5.2	–	–
	Economical	279	40.4	174	25.2	–	–
Car	No Car	436	63.2	475	68.8	632	91.6
	Luxury Car	136	19.7	121	17.5	36	5.2
	Semi Luxury Car	55	8.0	44	6.4	16	2.3
	Economical Car	63	9.1	50	7.2	06	0.9

Table 4.3a and 4.3b comprised measures of economic capital. Many researchers relied only on monthly income or house ownership to measure the capital (for detail, see section 3.1.2), whereas, this study included other indicators such as land, car, motorbike, etc. in the measurement. The table 4.3a contained half of the indicators of economic capital. The other half are given in table 4.3b.

Table 4.3a showed that 30.6% respondents, 18.8% fathers and 13.9% mothers owned costly mobile phones e.g., iPhone 7 or latest, Samsung edge or latest, Oppo latest. Slightly

above the half of the total number of mothers (57%), very small percentage of the respondents (2.5%) and 27.5% fathers did not own mobile phones. The category of simple mobile phone showed that 9.7% mothers, 15.7% fathers and 11% respondents have the mobile phone. Further, the percentage of the possession of semi-costly and economical mobile phone is higher among the respondents (39.3% and 26.7% respectively) as compared to fathers (semi-costly = 16.7% and economical = 21.3%) and mothers (semi-costly = 7.4% and economical = 12%). Overall, respondents have highest percentage of the possession of mobile phones and mother have least percentage of the possession.

The table showed that 17.8% respondents, 8.7% fathers and 3.9% mothers have costly laptop e.g., Apple, Microsoft, Dell latest. Almost half of the total numbers of respondents (53.3%), 87.8% fathers and 95.1% mothers do not own a laptop. It is also found that some of the respondents (22.5%) have semi-costly laptop, whereas, very minimal percentage of fathers (2.8%) and mothers (0.3%) own the laptop. Further, 6.4% respondents and very small percentage of parents (0.7% each) have economical laptop. Generally, respondents have higher percentage of the possession of laptops than parents have.

It is also found that eight percent of the respondents and 4.3% fathers owned costly motorbikes e.g. Heavy bike. However, majority of the fathers (65.2%) and a little lower than half of the respondents (43.8%) did not own a bike. Slightly above a quarter of total number of fathers (25.2%) and a little less than half of the total number of respondents (40.4%) have economical motorbikes. A little difference in percentage of motorbike ownership is found between respondents (7.8%) and fathers (5.2%).

The table also depicts that 19.7% respondents, 17.5% fathers and 5.2% mothers owned luxury cars e.g. BMW, Land Rover / Cruiser, Honda Accord or Civic. However, majority of the respondents (63.2%), fathers (68.8%) and mothers (91.6%) did not owned a car. The percentage of the ownership of semi-luxury and economical car is also very low among the respondents (8% and 9.1% respectively). Similarly, fathers and mothers have very small percentage of the ownership of semi-luxury (6.4% and 2.3% respectively) and economical cars (7.2% and 0.9% respectively).

Table 4.3b

Frequency and percentage distribution of economic capital measures

Economic Capital	Category	Respondent		Father		Mother	
		f	%	*f*	%	*F*	%
House Ownership	No House Owned	435	63.0	305	44.2	585	84.8
	>2 Houses Owned	15	2.2	21	3.0	01	0.1
	1-2 houses Owned	240	34.8	364	52.8	104	15.1
Land Owned	No land ownership	514	74.5	494	71.6	628	91.0
	1-10 Acre	99	14.3	104	15.1	31	4.5
	11-20 Acre	21	3.0	23	3.3	10	1.4
	21-30 Acre	19	2.8	06	0.9	03	0.4
	31-40 Acre	02	0.3	03	0.4	01	0.1
	41-50 Acre	05	0.7	17	2.5	12	1.7
	> 50 Acre	30	4.3	43	6.2	05	0.7
	Mean	6.0721		11.694		2.492	
	SD	18.73882		38.80		13.255	
Monthly Income	No Income	–	–	173	25.1	648	93.9
	<50000 PKR	327	47.4	266	38.6	14	2.0
	50000-100000 PKR	222	32.2	133	19.3	22	3.2
	100000-150000 PKR	25	3.6	13	1.9	–	–
	150000-200000 PKR	35	5.1	17	2.5	02	0.3
	> 200000 PKR	81	11.7	88	12.8	04	0.6
	Mean	203722.69		217806.85		8904.99	
	SD	573882.512		603227.86		72705.990	
Total		690	100	690	100	690	100

Table 4.3b comprised most important measures of economic capital. The table showed that majority of the mothers (85%) and the respondents (63%) did not own a house, whereas, more than half of the total number of the fathers (53%) owned 1-2 houses. Further, 35% respondents and 15.1% mothers have at least one house. The table also depicts that 2.2% respondents, 3% fathers and 0.1% mothers owned more than 2 houses.

The mean ownership of cultivatable land of the respondents (Mean = 6.07 acre, S.D. = 18.74) is almost half of the mean ownership of fathers (Mean = 11.7 acre, S.D. = 38.8). The mean ownership of cultivatable land of mothers is 2.492 acre with standard deviation of 12.3. It showed that fathers have highest amount of the land ownership comparing with the respondents and mothers. Specifically, 4.3% respondents, 6.2% fathers and 0.7% mothers owned more than 50 acres of cultivatable land. On the other hand, similar percentage of the respondents (21.1%) and fathers (22.2%) have <50 acres of cultivatable land. Moreover, 8.1% mothers also owned <50 acres of the land. Interestingly, majority of the respondents (74.5%) and parents (father = 72% and mother = 91%) have no ownership of the land.

The respondents' monthly income (Mean = 185595.60 PKR, SD = 463815.590) is skewed (Statistic = 4.462, S.E. = 0.093). Monthly income of fathers (Mean = 204987.68 PKR, SD = 583787.114) and mothers (Mean = 8349.28 PKR, SD = 70167.112) is also skewed (father = 4.181, mother = 12.9). The mean statistics revealed that on average, monthly income of fathers was almost 24.56 times higher than the income of their wives. Specifically, the overall percentage of mother's per month income is minimal which indicates that only 6.1% mothers could earn monthly (<50000 to >200000 PKR). In fact, 94% mothers have no income at all. Interestingly, a quarter of the total number of fathers (25.1%) also have no per month income. On the contrary, 11.7% respondents and 12.8% fathers earn >200000 PKR monthly. Whereas, 80% respondents and 58% fathers were earning <100000 PKR per month. Moreover, 8.7% respondents and 4.4% fathers were earning between 100000 and 200000 PKR monthly.

To summarize, table 4.3a and 4.3b indicated that 97.5% respondents, 72.5% fathers and 43% mothers have mobile phones, whereas, 46.7%, 12.2% and 5% respondents, fathers and mothers, respectively, have laptops. Except mothers, 56.2% respondents and 34.8% fathers have motorbikes in their possession, whereas, 37% respondents and 31.2% fathers have cars. Moreover, 37% respondents, 55.8% fathers and 15.11% mothers have houses in their possession, whereas, 25.4% respondents, 28.4% fathers and 8.8% mothers owned cultivatable land. Except respondents, 75% fathers and 6.1% mothers have monthly income.

Ali et al. (2011) stated that majority of the women in the country are not supposed to do jobs because they are expected to do household activities such as cooking, cleaning and caring of old age family members. On the other hand, male members have to support their family financially which makes them economically superior and head of family (Isran, S., & Isran, M, 2012; Farid et al., 2014). Isran, S. & Isran, M. (2013) reported that females have

lower labor participation comparing with male. With respect to wage gap, Sabir and Aftab (2007) concluded that at the beginning of 20th century, females had higher access to labor market, but gender pay gap was also evidenced. One finding of the table showed that mothers have lowest amount of economic capital indicators which support above mentioned studies.

Further, 84.5% male and 15.5% female respondents did not have laptops (see appendix 8, page 450). Majority of the male respondents did not own a car and mobile phone (84.2% and 88.2%, respectively), whereas, insignificant number of female respondents did not have mobile phones (11.8% and 15.8%, respectively). However, male respondents have higher percentage of the ownership of costly bikes (73%), luxury cars (77.2%) and costly laptops (74.8%) comparing with female respondents (27.3%, 23% and 25.2%, respectively). It was also found that 76.7% male and 23.3% female respondents owned greater than 50 acres of cultivatable land, whereas, 42% female respondents and 56% male respondents have ownership of a house. A significant difference of higher monthly income between male and female respondents is found because 23.5% female and 76.5% male respondents were earning more than 200000 PKR monthly.

Majority of the respondents who were living in urban areas, did not have laptops (67%), cars (66.3%) and bikes (65.2%). On the contrary, the percentage of ownership of costly bikes (69.1%), luxury cars (67.6%) and laptops (70%) was higher among urban residents as compared to rural residents (31%, 32.4% and 30.1%, respectively). On the other hand, the difference of house ownership was also substantial between rural and urban areas such as 41.8% of rural and 34.5% of urban respondents have their own house(s), whereas, 21.5% within rural and 14.5% within urban respondents were earning more than 150000 PKR per month. However, respondents belonged to rural areas have higher numbers of land ownership than urban areas i.e. 73.3% rural and 26.7% urban respondents owned more than 50 acres of cultivatable land. This is due to the fact that majority of the Zamindar (76%) and small farmers (86%) have permanent residence of rural areas and have ownership of cultivatable land. Further, 54% zamindar have greater than 40 acres of cultivatable land, whereas, 70% of small farmers have ≤10 acres of cultivatable land; 72% zamindar and 77.5% factory owners owned one or two houses. As expected, they also have highest income per month. The results showed that 64% zamindar and all factory owners earn more than 200000 PKR per month.

Interestingly, it was found that majority of the social positions do not have house ownership except factory owners. The highest percentage of no house ownership is of salesmen

(94%), supervisors (82%) and workers (80%). However, 66% managers, 74% schoolteachers, 64% lawyers, 56% small businessmen, 70% shopkeepers, university teachers (70%) and medical doctors (70%) did not have house ownership. Similarly, majority of the respondents did not have land ownership (including factory owners, 75%) except zamindar and small farmers.

All salesmen and workers have less than 50000 PKR per month income as well as 92% shopkeepers, 80% small farmers, 76% schoolteachers, 48% small businessmen, 36% supervisors and 44% college teachers also have less than 50000 PKR per month income. Moreover, 74% Zamindar, 100% factory owners, 98% medical doctors and 36% managers have costly mobile phones. Similarly, all factory owners have luxury cars (100%), whereas, 70% Zamindar, 46% medical doctors and 24% managers have the cars.

Conclusively, the results showed that females, rural residents and social position with lower economic status (e.g. small farmers and worker, Nakhaie, 1996) have low economic capital comparing with males, urban residents and social positions with higher economic status, respectively. Asian Development Bank 2000 reported that women in Pakistan have lower economic status. Specifically, Sathar and Kazi (2000) stated that women in Southern Punjab have lower economic status then women in Northern Punjab. Further, census of Pakistan 2017 reported that 63.3% of the total population of the Punjab is living in rural areas. The rural population is suffering from poverty and have poor living standards (Chaudhry, 2009; Shahzadi, Riaz, Anwar, & Nasreen, 2017; Parveen, & Cheema, 2018; Padda, & Hameed, 2018) which indicate their lower economic status.

The univariate description of the indicators of economic capital showed that zamindar, factory owners, medical doctors and mangers have higher economic capital than other social positions. However, it is not plausible to infer such differentiation merely based upon univariate analysis, therefore, researcher generated economic capital variable through MCKM, which encompasses these measures cumulatively. The variable was used for further analysis in the study (for detail see chapter 3 and Multivariate Analysis).

Table 4.4

Frequency and percentage distribution of institutionalized cultural capital

Education	Respondent		Father		Mother	
	f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Illiterate	13	1.9	131	19.0	286	41.4
Primary or equivalent	41	5.9	53	7.7	68	9.9
Middle or equivalent	23	3.3	56	8.1	55	8.0
Matric or equivalent	41	5.9	122	17.7	93	13.5
Intermediate or equivalent	42	6.1	73	10.6	46	6.7
Bachelor or equivalent	145	21.0	128	18.6	68	9.9
Masters or equivalent	255	37.0	107	15.5	52	7.5
M.Phil. or equivalent	108	15.7	14	2.0	13	1.9
PhD or equivalent	22	3.2	06	0.9	09	1.3
Total	690	100	690	100	690	100

Table 4.4 showed the description of institutionalized cultural capital of the respondents and their parents. The table showed that 55.9% respondents, 18.4% fathers and 10.7% mothers have higher than bachelor degree. On the contrary, 1.9% respondents, 19% fathers and 41.4% mothers are illiterate. Most of the respondents have masters or equivalent education (37%), most of the fathers have bachelor or equivalent (18.6%) and most of the mothers have matric or equivalent education (13.5%).

The table also showed that mothers conserved least amount of institutionalized cultural capital and the amount the capital increased in next generation. This disparity of the form of cultural capital also indicated that the form of the capital is higher among males than females while comparing mothers with respondents and fathers in Southern Punjab. Nevertheless, 84.9% of the female respondents have equivalent or higher than bachelor degree, whereas, 75% of the male respondents have same level of education. Moreover, 2.1% of male and 0.8% of female respondents are illiterate.

In a nutshell, 98.1% respondents, 81% fathers and 58.6% mothers are literate. Mahmood (2009) predicted increase in literacy rate in Punjab. The results clearly indicate that parents are investing more in institutionalized cultural capital of their children which revealed

increasing literacy rate in the region. United Nation Report on Education conducted by Choudhry (2005) in Pakistan stated highest adult literacy rate in Punjab (56.14%) in 2004. Although, literary rate of region did not increase (62%) between 2009 and 2016 but enrollment in higher education significantly increased by 7.9% in 2016-17 comparing with 2015-16 (Government of Pakistan, 2017-18).

Furthermore, mothers have lowest percentage of the form of capital which also depicts that grandparents of the respondents have least inclination towards formal education of their daughters. It also showed gender disparity of education. PDHS 2006-07 reported that 60% wives in Punjab were illiterate, whereas, only 6.6% of the wives have higher education. Although, the percentage of illiterate wives decreased by 12.2% in 2012-13 but the gap between husbands and wives' education almost remained same from 2006-07 (5.9%) and 2012-13 (5.2%) in Punjab. Overall, the difference sustained until 2017-18 (5.8%) in Pakistan.

Table 4.5a

Frequency and percentage distribution of reading habits

Reading		Respondent		Father		Mother	
		f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
English Novel	No	534	77.4	596	86.4	636	92.2
	Yes	156	22.6	94	13.6	54	7.8
Urdu Novel	No	448	64.9	569	82.5	574	83.2
	Yes	242	35.1	121	17.5	116	16.8
Biographies	No	571	82.8	595	86.2	632	91.6
	Yes	119	17.2	95	13.8	58	8.4
Science Fiction	No	598	86.7	654	94.8	664	96.2
	Yes	92	13.3	36	5.2	26	3.8
General Knowledge	No	427	61.9	567	82.2	632	91.6
	Yes	263	38.1	123	17.8	58	8.4
Religious	No	336	48.7	392	56.8	403	58.4
	Yes	354	51.3	298	43.2	287	41.6

Table 4.5a and 4.5b comprised the description of reading habits of the respondents and their parents. Tables 4.5a showed that the trend of reading English novels increased in next generation as 23% respondents, 13.6% fathers and 7.8% mothers used to read such novels. Similarly, reading Urdu novels was also popular among respondents comparing with their parents because the percentage of reading Urdu novels among respondents (35.1%) is nearly double of the percentage of parents (father = 17.5% and mother = 16.5%) who read the novels.

Very least percentage of mothers read science fiction and biographic books (3.8% and 8.4%, respectively) but higher percentage of the respondents used to read these type of books (13.3% and 17.2%, respectively) comparing with fathers (5.2% and 13.8% respectively) and mothers. One interesting finding is the higher tendency of the respondents and parents towards

religious scriptures. The results showed that 51.3% respondents, 43.2% fathers and 41.6% mothers used to read religious books. Interestingly, mothers have highest percentage of reading religious books.

On the contrary, the table also showed that majority of the respondents are least interested in reading English novels (77.4%), biographies (83%) and science fiction (87%). Further, majority of the parents are also least interested in reading all types of books given in table 4.5a except religious texts. The table also revealed that majority of the parents do not read general knowledge (father = 82.25 and mother = 91.6%), science fiction (father 95% and mother = 96.2%), biographies (father = 86.2% and mother = 92%), English novels (86.4%) and Urdu novels (92.2%).

Briefly, the percentage of reading Urdu novels, general knowledge and religious books was higher among respondents (35.1%, 38.1% and 51.3%, respectively) comparing with other types of reading categories. Fathers and mothers are more interested in reading religious books (43.2% and 42%, respectively) than other reading categories.

Table 4.5b

Frequency and percentage distribution of reading habits

Reading		Respondent		Father		Mother	
		f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Modern Cultural	No	594	86.1	638	92.5	647	93.8
	Yes	96	13.9	52	7.5	43	6.2
English Newspaper	No	464	67.2	582	84.3	624	90.4
	Yes	226	32.8	108	15.7	66	9.6
Urdu Newspaper	No	288	41.7	349	50.6	501	72.6
	Yes	402	58.3	341	49.4	189	27.4
Philosophy	No	633	91.7	629	91.2	648	93.9
	Yes	57	8.3	61	8.8	42	6.1
History	No	548	79.4	568	82.3	628	91.0
	Yes	142	20.6	122	17.7	62	9.0
Art and Literature	No	590	85.5	632	91.6	628	91.0
	Yes	100	14.5	58	8.4	62	9.0
Total		690	100	690	100	690	100

Table 4.5b also consisted of the types of books that respondents and parents read. The table showed that respondents have higher percentage of reading modern cultural books (14%) comparing with their parents (father = 7.5% and mother = 6.2%). However, mothers have lowest percentage of reading different types of books.

As the percentage of reading English novels was higher among respondents, the percentage of the respondents reading English newspaper was double (33%) than the percentage of fathers reading English newspaper (16%). The percentage of the respondents reading the newspaper was also three times higher than the percentage of mothers (10%). Awais and Ameen (2013) reported that children are more interested in reading material

published in English language. Further, they also explored that respondents used to read science fiction which is consistent with the findings of the present study.

Almost half of the numbers of fathers used to read Urdu newspaper (49.4%) and slightly more than half of the respondents read the newspaper (58.3%). However, 27.4% of the mothers read the newspaper.

The table depicts an interesting result of trivial percentage of reading philosophy among respondents (8.3%) and parents (father = 8.8% and mother = 6.1%). However, mothers and fathers were least interested in reading science fiction (3.8% and 5.2%, respectively) and the respondents in philosophy (8.3%). Fathers were also least interested in art / literature (8.4%), science fiction (5.2%) and modern cultural books (7.5%). As expected, mothers have low percentage of almost all reading categories. Majority of the mothers did not read modern cultural (94%), history (91%), art and literature books (91%), English (90.4%), and Urdu newspapers (73%).

Briefly, apart from higher tendency of the respondents reading habits comparing with parents, the table also revealed that mothers are only highly interested in reading religious texts and fathers and respondents in Urdu newspaper (49.4% and 58.3%, respectively). The result of reading habits of fathers is consistent with Riaz (2009) who found highest percentage of reading Urdu newspaper among fathers.

Conclusively, the tables depict that reading habits increased in the next generation comparing with the first one due the fact that respondents have almost higher percentage of reading all the categories of books comparing with parents. The finding is consistent with the study of Dilshad, Adnan, and Akram (2013) who found significant number of respondents (96.6%) who read newspaper in Punjab. Considering tendency towards reading religious books, the finding is also consistent with a study conducted by Hussain and Munshi (2013). They explored that religious books are at second priority of respondents in Punjab (specifically Lahore). However, instead of Urdu newspaper, they found that storybooks are at the top priority of the respondents. The contradiction of results is due to the target population i.e. children, in the study of Hussain and Munshi (2013).

Table 4.6a

Frequency and percentage distribution of cultural activities

Activities		Respondent		Father		Mother	
		f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Visit Galleries							
	No	502	72.8	595	86.2	606	87.8
	Yes	188	27.2	95	13.8	84	12.2
Visit Museums							
	No	458	66.4	547	79.3	591	85.7
	Yes	232	33.6	143	20.7	99	14.3
Listen Classical Music							
	No	450	65.2	539	78.1	591	85.7
	Yes	240	34.8	151	21.9	99	14.3
Play outdoor Games							
	No	477	69.1	601	87.1	657	95.2
	Yes	213	30.9	89	12.9	33	4.8
Sculpturing or Painting							
	No	631	91.4	654	94.8	649	94.1
	Yes	59	8.6	36	5.2	41	5.9
Play a musical instrument							
	No	624	90.4	636	92.2	659	95.5
	Yes	66	9.6	54	7.8	31	4.5

Table 4.6a, 4.6b and 4.6c comprised cultural activities of the respondents and parents. Table 4.6a depicts that respondents visited more in art galleries (27.2%) than parents did (father = 13.8% and mother 12.2%). Mothers has lower percentage of visiting museums (14.3%) than fathers (21%) and the respondents (34%). Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (PBS) 2018 reported that number of national visitors at archeological museums increased in Punjab. In 2007, the total number of visitors were 729271 which reached up to 1056809 national visitors in 2016. The finding of increase in visits to museum from first generation to second is consistent with the report of PBS.

A little percentage of mothers listen to classical music (14.3%), whereas, respondents have the highest percentage (35%) of the activity. The percentage of playing outdoor games among respondents (31%) was more than twice of the percentage of fathers (13%). However, mothers have least percentage of playing outdoor games.

The table showed that painting or sculpturing was not much popular among respondents, fathers and mothers because it has nominal percentage i.e. 8.6%, 5.2% and 5.9%, respectively. Similarly, very least percentage of the respondents and parents play any musical instruments. The table showed that only 4.5% mothers, 7.8% fathers and 9.6% respondents play any musical instrument. Although, the percentage of cultural activities is lower among the respondents and parents, yet respondents have higher percentage of cultural activities comparing with parents.

On the contrary, majority of the respondents and parents did not perform cultural activities as the table showed that 73% respondents and almost equivalent percentage of fathers and mothers (86.2% and 87.8%, respectively) did not visit art galleries. Mothers have highest percentage of 'not visiting museums' (86%). Similarly, majority of the fathers (79.3%) and respondents (66.4%) did not prefer going to museums as well. Classical music was not very much popular among respondents (65.2%) and parents (father = 78.1% and mother = 86%). Majority of the respondents (69.1%) did not play outdoor games as well as their parents (father = 87.1% and mother = 95.2%). Furthermore, sculpturing or painting and playing a musical instrument were also not common among respondents (91.4% and 90.4% respectively), fathers (95% and 92.2%, respectively) and mothers (94.1% and 96%, respectively).

Conclusively, cultural activities given in table 4.6a are not widely performed by the respondents and parents. However, the table revealed that the activities getting popular among next generation such as the percentage of visiting galleries and playing outdoor games among respondents is double than the percentage of fathers and mothers. Further, the percentage of rest of the activities in the table is also higher among respondents as compared to parents. The finding about outdoor games is consistent with Riaz (2009) who found that 39% of the respondents play outside of homes.

Table 4.6b

Frequency and percentage distribution of cultural activities

Activities		Respondent		Father		Mother	
		f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Attend Social Meetings							
	No	386	55.9	338	49.0	533	77.2
	Yes	304	44.1	352	51.0	157	22.8
Horse Riding							
	No	569	82.5	570	82.6	664	96.2
	Yes	121	17.5	120	17.4	26	3.8
Swimming							
	No	471	68.3	624	90.4	665	96.4
	Yes	219	31.7	66	9.6	25	3.6
Boating							
	No	606	87.8	651	94.3	668	96.8
	Yes	84	12.2	39	5.7	22	3.2
Cruising							
	No	600	87.0	666	96.5	669	97.0
	Yes	90	13.0	24	3.5	21	3.0
Hunting							
	No	552	80.0	580	84.1	679	98.4
	Yes	138	20.0	110	15.9	11	1.6

Table 4.6b showed the description of cultural activities of the respondents and their parents. The table depicts that the percentage of respondents' participation in social meetings is twice (44.1%) than the percentage of mother (22.8%), whereas, fathers have highest percentage of attending social meetings (51%). On the contrary, majority of the mothers (77.2%) did not participate in such meetings, whereas, little more than half of the total number of the respondents (56%) also did not participate in social meetings.

As expected, very least percentage of mothers are interested in horse riding (4%), whereas, almost similar percentage of the respondents and fathers rode horses (17.5% and 17.4% respectively). Swimming was not common among parents (father = 10% and mother =

4%), whereas, some of the respondents (32%) reported that they do swimming. Similarly, boating was also least popular among fathers (6%) and mothers (3.2%) but 12.2% respondents are interested in the activity.

Among all the activities, cruising is very costly. Therefore, researcher expected that it is associated with higher economic capital. However, the section is confined to univariate analysis that is why the relationship is tested in the next section. The table showed that 13% respondents, 4% fathers and 3% mothers have been cruising. Hunting also has lowest percentage among mothers (1.6%), whereas, minimal percentage of fathers (16%) and the respondents (20%) have also been hunting.

Concisely, the table revealed that only social meetings has the highest percentage among the respondents and parents. However, the percentage of all activities given in the table increased in next generation comparing with the first.

Table 4.6c

Frequency and percentage distribution of cultural activities

Activities		Respondent		Father		Mother	
		f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Travelling							
	No	322	46.7	448	64.9	561	81.3
	Yes	368	53.3	242	35.1	129	18.7
Foreign visits							
	No	571	82.8	654	94.8	656	95.1
	Yes	119	17.2	36	5.2	34	4.9
Hiking							
	No	618	89.6	666	96.5	674	97.7
	Yes	72	10.4	24	3.5	16	2.3
Yoga							
	No	606	87.8	655	94.9	637	92.3
	Yes	84	12.2	35	5.1	53	7.7
Diary Writing							
	No	611	88.6	625	90.6	642	93.0
	Yes	79	11.4	65	9.4	48	7.0
Weight lifting / gym							
	No	613	88.8	677	98.1	682	98.8
	Yes	77	11.2	13	1.9	08	1.2
Total		690	100	690	100	690	100

Table 4.6c is consisted of cultural activities of the respondents and their parents. The table showed that more than half of the total number of the respondents (53.3%) travelled within the country. Whereas, parents have lower percentage of travelling (father = 35.1% and mother = 19%). Mothers have lowest percentage to visit foreign countries (5%) comparing with fathers (5.2%) and the respondents (17.2%). The respondents (10.4%) and parents (father = 3.5% and mother = 2.3%) did not commonly hike.

Further, yoga is more common among mothers (8%) and fathers (5.1%) than hiking as well as among respondents (12.2%). The table also showed that 11.4% respondents, 9.4% fathers and 7% mothers used to write their diaries. Very insignificant percentage of fathers (2%) and mothers (1.2%) used to work out. However, 11.2% of the respondent reported that they have been going to gym or have been weight lifting.

Conclusively, the table 4.6a, 4.6b and 4.6c revealed that females have lower national and international mobility because their travelling (19%), visits to foreign countries (5%), galleries (12.2%) and museums (14.3%) have lowest percentage comparing with males i.e. fathers and the respondents. Health related activities (e.g. hiking and yoga) were not prevalent among respondents and parents as the table dismantled that their minimal percentage played outdoor games, interested in hiking, yoga and gym. Majority of the respondents did not afford highbrow cultural activities such as visit to foreign countries.

Sathar and Kazi (2000) reported that women in Southern Punjab have lowest autonomy of mobility comparing with Central Punjab. Awan (2016) also stated that regardless of educational status, marriage and job, Punjabi women encounter mobility restrictions. Interestingly, Khan (1999) found that mobility restriction of women also decreased their access to health. As far as health-related activities are concerned, Ahmad, et. al. (2015) reported that 76% of health professionals did not perform any exercise. Khuwaja and Kadir (2010) found that majority of the women (70%) and men (52.1%) in Karachi are physically inactive. Furthermore, Pakistan Health Research Council 2016 reported that men have higher physical activities than women in Punjab and Sindh.

Table 4.7a

Frequency and percentage distribution of viewing habits

Viewing		Respondent		Father		Mother	
		f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Action							
	No	420	60.9	596	86.4	665	96.4
	Yes	270	39.1	94	13.6	25	3.6
Animation							
	No	637	92.3	663	96.1	680	98.6
	Yes	53	7.7	27	3.9	10	1.4
Biography							
	No	608	88.1	627	90.9	654	94.8
	Yes	82	11.9	63	9.1	36	5.2
Comedy							
	No	508	73.6	617	89.4	631	91.4
	Yes	182	26.4	73	10.6	59	8.6
Crime							
	No	575	83.3	643	93.2	664	96.2
	Yes	115	16.7	47	6.8	26	3.8
T.V. Drama							
	No	484	70.1	615	89.1	451	65.4
	Yes	206	29.9	75	10.9	239	34.6
Family							
	No	565	81.9	572	82.9	610	88.4
	Yes	125	18.1	118	17.1	80	11.6
History							
	No	597	86.5	625	90.6	674	97.7
	Yes	93	13.5	65	9.4	16	2.3

Table 4.7a and 4.7b are consisted of viewing habits of the respondents and parents. Table 4.7a showed that 39.1% respondents, 14% fathers and 4% mothers used to watch action genre. Animation genre did not commonly watch among respondents and parents as the table showed that only 8% respondents, 4% fathers and 1.4% mothers watched the genre.

As the data of reading habits showed that little percentage of respondents and parents read biographies, similarly, only 9.1% fathers, 5.2% mothers and 12% respondents watched biographies. A little higher than a quarter of the total number of the respondents (26.4%) and only 11% fathers reported that they watched comedy programs, whereas, mothers have the lowest percentage (9%) of watching the genre comparing with the respondents and fathers. Similarly, very little percentage of mothers (4%) and fathers (7%) watched crime genre. On the contrary, 17 % of the respondents were interested in watching the genre. As expected, mothers have the highest percentage (35%) of watching television dramas. However, fathers were least interested in watching the genre (12%), whereas, 30% respondents used to watch the genre.

Father and the respondents have almost similar percentage of watching family genre (18.1 and 17.1, respectively), whereas, 12% of mother watched the genre. As majority of the respondents and fathers did not read history books, similarly, only 2.3% mothers, 9.4% fathers and 13.5% respondents watched history genre.

Shortly, the table revealed that mothers have least percentage of watching all genres mentioned in the table except television dramas. The trends of watching the genres increased among respondents. Such increase may be due to the higher availability of electronics and internet which was scarcely available to parents almost two decades ago.

The results regarding watching television dramas among mothers are consistent with Zia (2007) who explored that majority of the female respondents preferred to watch television dramas. The finding also supported the study of Riaz (2009) who found highest mean score of watching T.V. dramas among mothers. Recently, Adnan, Shah, and Shaikh (2018) also found highest percentage of watching dramas among females.

Table 4.7b

Frequency and percentage distribution of viewing habits

Viewing		Respondent		Father		Mother	
		f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Horror							
	No	613	88.8	659	95.5	667	96.7
	Yes	77	11.2	31	4.5	23	3.3
Romance							
	No	492	71.3	639	92.6	640	92.8
	Yes	198	28.7	51	7.4	50	7.2
Science Fiction							
	No	602	87.2	646	93.6	663	96.1
	Yes	88	12.8	44	6.4	27	3.9
War							
	No	600	87.0	649	94.1	669	97.0
	Yes	90	13.0	41	5.9	21	3.0
Political							
	No	454	65.8	372	53.9	617	89.4
	Yes	236	34.2	318	46.1	73	10.6
Religious							
	No	549	79.6	535	77.5	480	69.6
	Yes	141	20.4	155	22.5	210	30.4
Other							
	No	528	76.5	603	87.4	632	91.6
	Yes	162	23.5	87	12.6	58	8.4
Total		690	100	690	100	690	100

Table 4.7b comprised viewing habits of respondents and parents. The table depicts that majority of the respondents (89%) and parents (father = 96% and mother = 97%) did not prefer to watch horror genre. Some of the respondents preferred watching romantic genre (29%), whereas, very little percentage of fathers (7.4%) and mothers (7.2%) watched the genre. Further, minimal percentage of mothers watched science fiction (4%), whereas, 6.4% fathers

and 13% respondents watched the genre. Majority of the mothers were also not interested in watching war genre (97%) but 13% respondents and nominal percentage fathers (6%) preferred watching the genre.

A little less than half of the total number of fathers (46.1%), a small percentage of mothers (11%) and 34.2% respondents watched political programs. As the results of reading habits revealed that the respondents and parents read more religious texts than other types of books, similarly, the table also showed that religious programs are at second priority of mothers (30.4%) and fathers (23%). However, a little low than a quarter of total number of the respondents (20.4%) also watched religious programs. The table showed that 24% respondents, 13% fathers and 8.4% mothers watched "other" genre. The "other" genre is consisted of sports, documentaries, fashion shows, etc.

On the contrary, the table also depicts that majority of the respondents did not watch any of the genres. The table showed that more than 90% fathers did not watch horror (97%), romance (93%), science fiction (96%) and war (97%) genres. Similarly, greater than 90% mothers were not interested in watching the same genres including others (92%). Additionally, more than 80% respondents did not watch horror (89%), science fiction (87.2%) and war (87%) genres.

Overall, table 4.7a and 4.7b showed that fathers and respondents were interested in politics because fathers have highest percentage of watching political programs (46.1%). The genre was at second priority of the respondents because action genre has highest percentage (39.1%) among them. Moreover, religious tendency was higher among mothers comparing with respondents and fathers. The table also revealed that the tendency of viewing habits increased in respondents comparing with their parents because the percentage of watching almost all genres was higher among them.

The finding of higher percentage of watching political genre among fathers is consistent with Riaz (2009) who found that fathers have highest mean scores of watching political programs. Adnan (2015) also explored that 78.1% of the respondents watch news broadcasting. Further, finding regarding higher religious tendency among mothers supported the study of Adnan, Shah, and Shaikh (2018). They explored that 62% of the female respondents have been watching religious programs.

Table 4.8a

Frequency and percentage distribution of preference of music

Music		Respondent		Father		Mother	
		f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Classical							
	No	364	52.8	436	63.2	475	68.8
	Yes	326	47.2	254	36.8	215	31.2
Folk							
	No	410	59.4	415	60.1	473	68.6
	Yes	280	40.6	275	39.9	217	31.4
Rap							
	No	583	84.5	679	98.4	681	98.7
	Yes	107	15.5	11	1.6	09	1.3
Jazz							
	No	573	83.0	676	98.0	672	97.4
	Yes	117	17.0	14	2.0	18	2.6
Rock							
	No	514	74.5	685	99.3	680	98.6
	Yes	176	25.5	05	0.7	10	1.4

Hargreaves and North (1997) argued that music is multidimensional that entails three dimensions i.e. physical, subjective and meaning. The first dimension is associated with sound of music. The second dimension is perception of the sound and third is construction of meaning from the sound. Therefore, each type of music can be viewed socially.

Nidel (2005) related classical music of India with Pakistani music that included Qawwali in the genre. The classical music in Pakistan can been called *Sangeet* (music) as well as in India. The basic instruments of classical music are tabla and harmonium. The singing of *Gazal* (and ancient religious songs in India) on Indian theory of music i.e. ragas, can be called classical music in Pakistan. Further, Gazal and Qawwali are two major types of classical music in the country. Qawwali is famous for Sufi religious songs. The folk music in Punjab is cultural music which also has Indian origin, specifically Indian Punjab. The music is subject to singing

of daily life activities, marital ceremonies and regional heroes on *Dhol* (a form of table in bigger size) and other regional instruments.

The rap music is postmodern type of music which has Afro-American origin (Magubane, 2004). Huq (2006) defined the type of music as "an example of postmodern music for its inter-textuality and use of source material recycling of earlier musical eras" (p. 115). Powell, C. T. (1991) defined rap as "a form of popular music that entails talking, or "rapping," to a rhythmic musical background" (p. 245). The other form of music such as rock and jazz are also considered modern music.

Table 4.8a consisted of the respondents' and parents' preference of type of music. The table showed that most of the respondents and their parents listened to classical and folk music as data revealed that 47.2% respondents, 36.8% fathers and 31.2% mothers listened to classical music, whereas, 40.6% respondents, 39.9% fathers and 31.4% mothers liked to listen folk music.

As expected, majority of the parents did not like modern music. The table showed that only 1.6% fathers and 1.3% mother listened to rap music. Similarly, Jazz and rock is also not popular among parents because only 2% fathers and 2.6% mothers listen to jazz music, whereas, the popularity of rock (father = 0.7%, mother = 1.4%) was lower than Jazz among parents.

Riaz (2009) reported musical tendency of respondents generally because she did not classify type of music in operationalization. She found that 19% respondents watch musical programs. Similarly, Adnan (2015) also did not measure the sort of music that respondents listen but he also explored that 51.8% respondents watch musical programs. Furthermore, the results are consistent with the findings of Rana and North (2007) who explored that Pakistani classical music mostly listening by the respondents and modern music is their second priority.

Table 4.8b

Frequency and percentage distribution of preference of music

Music		Respondent		Father		Mother	
		f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Pop							
	No	587	85.1	686	99.4	684	99.1
	Yes	103	14.9	04	0.6	06	0.9
Blues							
	No	676	98.0	688	99.7	688	99.7
	Yes	14	2.0	02	0.3	02	0.3
Choral							
	No	687	99.6	682	98.8	678	98.3
	Yes	03	0.4	08	1.2	12	1.7
Reggae							
	No	681	98.7	679	98.4	680	98.6
	Yes	09	1.3	11	1.6	10	1.4
Total		690	100	690	100	690	100

Blues, invented by Africans in Southern America (Nidel, 2005, p. 21; Steinfeld, 2016, p. 11), is not included in world music (Nidel, 2005, p. 2). It originated from Afro-American work, Euro-American folk music and generally known as songs against oppression that faced by black race during slavery (Steinfeld, 2016). It defined as a form of music which emphasizes on "improvisation and spontaneous expression, and artist-audience interaction" (Steinfeld, 2016, p. 4). Choral music is group singing for which Armenia is famous (Nidel, 2005, p. 150). Reggae has Jamaican origin and "evolutionary grandson of other Jamaican genres (Nidel, 2005, p. 281). Nidel (2005) defined reggae as "Jamaican pop dance music, emphasizing the bass, in 4/4 but with the strong beats on the 2 and 4" (p. 370).

Table 4.8b consisted of preference of music of the respondents and parents. The table showed that 14.9% respondents listened to pop music, whereas, parents did not like the music (father = 0.6%, mother = 0.9%). Similarly, very insignificant percentage of the respondents and their parents listened blues, choral and reggae music. The table showed that 2% respondents, 0.3% fathers and 0.3% mothers listened to blues music and 0.4% respondents,

1.2% fathers and 1.7% mothers liked to listen choral music. Lastly, 98.7% respondents, 98.4% fathers and 98.6% mothers did not like reggae music.

Briefly, table 4.8a and b revealed that popularity of modern music is higher among respondents comparing with their parents. The table showed almost slightly higher than a quarter of the total number of respondents (26%) listened to rock music. More or less the same percentage of the respondents listened jazz, rap and pop music (17%, 15% and 15% respectively). Although, choral and reggae was not popular among the respondents and parents, yet these genres have slightly higher percentage among fathers comparing with respondents.

Like table 4.8a, table 4.8b also showed difference of preference related to types of music between respondent and parents. However, the table revealed that only pop music has a greater difference of listening between respondents and parents. These findings supported the study of Rana and North (2007) who found that pop music is one of the popular music among Pakistanis. Further, with respect to the difference of pop music, the finding is also consistent with Prieur, et. al. (2010). They found that modern music is more popular in second generation than first generation.

Table 4.9

Frequency and percentage distribution of dress preference of the respondents

Variables	Category	Frequency	Percentage
Local Brands			
	No	477	69.1
	Yes	213	30.9
International Brands			
	No	493	71.4
	Yes	197	28.6
Ordinary tailor			
	No	312	45.2
	Yes	378	54.8
Fashion Designer			
	No	615	89.1
	Yes	75	10.9
Fashion shows			
	No	629	91.2
	Yes	61	8.8

Table 4.9 consisted of types of costumes respondents preferred to wear. The table showed that a little more than half of the total respondents (54.8%) prefer to wear dresses stitched by an ordinary tailor. Local brands are second at priority as the table showed that 31% respondent wear local brands. The respondents do not commonly wear international brands, costumes of fashion designers and fashion shows outfits. The table revealed that only 8.8% respondents wear outfits of fashion shows, 11.9% respondents prefer to wear costumes designed by fashion designers and 28.6% respondents wear international brands.

Overall, the table revealed that the respondents commonly wear cheap dresses. However, small percentage of the respondents preferred to wear costly dresses.

Although, empirical studies reported that consumers frequently purchase the brand they are satisfied with (Saeed & Baig, 2013; Awan & Rehman, 2014; Ahsan, et. al., 2017) yet the purchasing power is not negligible because dress preferences can be explained through economic differentiation among respondents which is ultimately related with cultural capital.

As table 4.3b showed that 12.8% respondents earn >200000 PKR monthly and table 4.9 depicted that 8.8% and 11% respondents preferred wearing outfits from fashion shows and fashion designers, respectively which helps to hypothesized relationship between income and dress preferences as well as cultural capital. Therefore, it can be presumed that respondents with higher income prefer to wear costly outfits.

Latif and Khan (2016) reported that dress pattern form identity of the consumers, therefore, people prefer to wear brands because it showed their social status in Pakistan. Malik, et. al. (2013) reported that respondents purchase brands to maintain their social status. Furthermore, Zeb, Rashid, and Javeed (2011) found that self-concept is highly related with fashion clothing in the country. Considering the difference between local and international brand, the findings of the study are consistent with Ahamd (2013) who explored that respondents preferred local brands to international brands.

Table 4.10

Frequency and percentage distribution of food preference of the respondents

Variable	Category	Frequency	Percentage
Traditional			
	No	106	15.4
	Yes	584	84.6
French			
	No	654	94.8
	Yes	36	5.2
Chinese			
	No	487	70.6
	Yes	203	29.4
Junk			
	No	482	69.9
	Yes	208	30.1
Western			
	No	638	92.5
	Yes	52	7.5
Other			
	No	632	91.6
	Yes	58	8.4
Total		690	100.0

Table 4.10 is consisted of food preferences of the respondents. The table showed that majority of the respondents (84.6%) ate traditional foods. Junk foods were their second priority (30.1%), whereas, Chinese food have a little below the percentage of junk foods preference (29.4%). Further, the table showed that majority of the respondents liked to eat French, western and other foods (5.2%, 7.5% and 8.4%, respectively). The other foods comprised Italian, Thai, Mexican and food of Northern areas of Pakistan such as swati dishes.

Overall, the table revealed that traditional foods are highly preferred by the respondents to eat in southern Punjab. However, French, Western and 'other' foods were preferred by the respondents with higher income as table 4.3b showed 12.8% of the respondents earn greater than 200000 PKR monthly and almost similar percentage of the respondents preferred to eat non-traditional foods.

The finding is consistent with the study of Hakeem, Thomas, and Badruddin (1999) who found higher consumption of traditional foods among respondents. Further, Baig & Saeed (2012) reported higher intake of junk foods in second generation comparing with first generation. Akram & Henneberry (2016) stated that food habits are changing in Pakistan. They reported that majority of the people in the country shifted from tradition foods to western foods e.g. junk foods.

Table 4.11

Frequency and percentage distribution of preference of artist of the respondents

Artist	Frequency	Percentage
Not interested in Art	453	65.7
Sadequain	55	8.0
Ana Molka	03	0.4
Ahmed Pervez	22	3.2
Abdur Rehman Chugtai	41	5.9
Abdul Rahim Nagoori	07	1.0
Pablo Picasso	48	7.0
Michael Angelo	26	3.8
Leonardo Di Vinci	32	4.6
Other	03	0.4
Total	690	100.0

Syed Sadequain Ahmed Naqvi is one of the finest calligraphers and painter from Pakistan. He has honored with several national awards of art such as Sitara-e-Imtiaz, Pride of Performance and Tamgha-e-Imtiaz. Anna Molka Ahmed is pioneer of fine arts in Pakistan after independence of the country in 1947. She has Jewish family in England, her birthplace. Her father was Russian, and mother was polish. She converted to Islam after marrying Sheikh Ahmed in 1939 and came to Pakistan in 1940. She became professor at University of the Punjab and established department of fine arts which is now known as College of Arts and Design. Apart from other Pakistani artists, Ahmed Parvez is internationally recognized modern painter from Rawalpindi. He was honored with President's Pride of Performance Award in 1978 and held an exhibition with Alexander Calder, an American artist, at Lincoln Gallery.

Abdur Rehman Chugtai was inspired by Mughal art and created his distinctive version of the art which earned him a Presidential pride of performance award and Sitara-e-Imtiaz. He is also known as first modern Muslim artist in Pakistan as well as South Asia. He was also given the title of Khan Bahadur by British Government in India. Another famous artist from Pakistan is Abdur Raheem Nagoori who has been designated as professor in University of Sindh Jamshoro. He set up and chaired the department of Fine Arts in the University. His prime

theme of art was socio-political context such as a portrayal of Zia-ul-Haq –a dictator of Pakistan 1978-1988. The portrayal described Zia "a dictatorial king of clubs" with absolute power.

Table 4.11 depicts respondents' favorite artists. The table showed that majority of the respondents reported that they are not interested in art (65.7%). Only eight percent liked Pakistani calligrapher Sadequain and one of the well renowned artists i.e. Pablo Picasso was favorite of seven percent the respondents. However, a little percentage of the respondents valued art in their lives. Furthermore, other artists such as Ana Molka (0.4%), Abdul Rahim Nagoori (1%) and Ahmed Pervez (3.2%) have not been much preferred by the respondents.

Table 4.12a

Frequency and percentage distribution of English language competence of the respondents

English Language	Unable		Poor		Medium		Good		Excellent	
	f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Respondent										
Reading	131	19.0	82	11.9	99	14.3	220	31.9	158	22.9
Writing	128	18.6	87	12.6	111	16.1	223	32.3	141	20.4
Speaking	146	21.2	99	14.3	115	16.7	208	30.1	122	17.7
Listening	141	20.4	92	13.3	98	14.2	207	30.0	152	22.0
Total	690	100	690	100	690	100	690	100	690	100

Table 4.12a showed self-reported English language competence of the respondents. The table showed that 19% respondents could not read English language. Almost same percentage of the respondents (18.6%) could not write the language. The percentage of the respondents who could speak the language is 21.2%, whereas, the percentage of the respondents who could not understand the language while listening is a little lower than the percentage of respondents who cannot speak the language (20.4%). Interestingly, the results revealed that 0.4% of the respondents could not write English language but could read it and 0.8% respondents could not understand the language while listening it.

The table showed that 11.9% of the respondents have poor reading competence of the language. Writing competence is also poor among 12.6% of the respondents. Speaking of the language is poor among 14.3% respondents and almost similar percentage of the respondents have poor listening competence (13.3%). It showed that 0.7% respondents could write the language poorly but cannot read the language. However, 1% respondents could speak the language poorly but could not understand it with the same competence.

Apart from poor English language competence, 14.3% respondents reported medium level reading ability. The percentage of medium level writing of the respondents is 16.1%. Almost similar percentage of the respondents (16.7%) reported that they have medium level speaking ability. Medium level listening competence of the respondents is 14.2%. It reveals that 1.8% respondents have medium level writing ability but could not have same level of

reading competence. However, 2.5% respondents have medium level speaking competence but did not have the same level of listening competence.

The table also showed that 31.9% respondents have good reading ability and 32.3% respondents have good writing competence. Good speaking and listening competence also have almost similar percentage of the respondents (31.1% and 30%, respectively).

It is also found that 22.9% respondents have excellent reading competence. The percentage of excellent writing is slightly lower than the percentage of excellent reading (20.4%). The percentage of excellent listening competence of the respondents is almost similar to the percentage of excellent reading (22%). However, excellent speaking has lowest percentage in the category (17.7%). The result dismantles that respondents have excellent reading, writing and listening competence but cannot excellently speak the language.

Table 4.12b

Frequency and percentage distribution of English language competence of the parents

English Language	Unable		Poor		Medium		Good		Excellent	
	f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Father										
Reading	289	41.9	73	10.6	120	17.4	99	14.3	109	15.8
Writing	288	41.7	87	12.6	105	15.2	107	15.5	103	14.9
Speaking	293	42.5	97	14.1	99	14.3	101	14.6	100	14.5
Listening	295	42.8	89	12.9	95	13.8	101	14.6	110	15.9
Total	690	100	690	100	690	100	690	100	690	100
Mother										
Reading	403	58.4	99	14.3	65	9.4	68	9.9	55	8.0
Writing	414	60.0	90	13.0	60	8.7	70	10.1	56	8.1
Speaking	417	60.4	97	14.1	56	8.1	70	10.1	50	7.2
Listening	410	59.4	96	13.9	55	8.0	77	11.2	52	7.5
Total	690	100	690	100	690	100	690	100	690	100

Table 4.12b is consisted of English language competence of the parents. The table showed that 41.9% fathers were unable to read English language. The percentage of fathers who were unable to write the language was similar to the percentage of their reading competence (41.7%). The table also showed that the percentage of fathers who were unable to speak the language (42.5%) was similar to the percentage of fathers who were unable to understand the language while listening it (42.8%).

Poor reading ability was 10.6% among fathers. The percentage of poor writing was 12.6% and percentage of poor speaking was 14.3% among fathers. Some of the fathers (12.9%) reported that they could not understand the language while listening it. The results revealed that 2% fathers could write the language poorly but could not read at the same level. The results also revealed that 1.2% fathers could speak the language poorly but could not understand it while listening at the same level of competence.

The percentage of medium level reading competence of fathers was 17.4%, writing competence was 15.2%, speaking competence was 14.3% and listening competence was 13.8%. Good reading, speaking and listening competence of fathers have almost similar

percentage (14.3%, 14.6% and 14.6%, respectively), whereas, good writing ability was slightly higher than the former competence (15.5%). Further, excellent reading and listening competence of fathers have similar percentage (15.8% and 15.9%, respectively), whereas, excellent writing and speaking competence of fathers have almost similar percentage as well (14.9% and 14.5%, respectively).

Comparing with respondents and fathers, mothers have lowest English language competence. The table depicts that 58.4% mothers could not read the language, 60% could not write the language, 69.4% could not speak the language and 59.4% could not understand the language while listening it. Poor English language competence category revealed that 14.3% mothers have poor reading ability, 13% have poor writing ability, 14.1% have poor speaking and 13.9% have poor listening competence. The percentage of medium level competence of the language among mothers was lower than poor level as the table showed that only 9.4% mothers have medium level reading competence, 8.7% have medium level writing competence, 8.1% have medium level speaking and 8% have medium level listening competence.

Good writing and speaking competence have same percentage (10.1% each) among mothers. However, the percentage of good reading (9.9%) was slightly higher than the percentage of listening (11.2%) at the same level of competence. The table also showed that very nominal percentage of mothers have excellent reading (8%), writing (8.1%), speaking (7.2%) and listening (7.5%) competence.

Further, it was also found that 57.4% respondents used bourgeois parlance (see chapter 3, section 3.13), whereas, 24.9% respondents used common parlance. However, the percentage of bourgeois parlance of fathers (31.9%) was lower than the percentage of the respondents but small difference of common parlance between respondents and fathers was explored (3.1%). The use of common (23%) and bourgeois (18.8%) parlances were less among mothers than fathers and the respondents. Similarly, mothers have highest percentage of no English competence (58.1%) than fathers (40.1%) and the respondents (17.7%).

Table 4.13

Frequency and percentage distribution of objectified cultural capital

Objectified Cultural Capital		Frequency	Percent
Type of furniture at home			
	Antique	40	5.8
	Artistic	38	5.5
	Modern Fancy	150	21.7
	Brand	56	8.1
	Simple	403	58.4
	All except simple	03	0.4
Books at home			
	No	358	51.9
	Yes	332	48.1
Art pictures at home			
	No	484	70.1
	Yes	206	29.9

Objectified cultural capital is one of the forms of cultural capital. It refers to the material possessions such as books, furniture, musical instruments etc. Additionally, the material possessions are also associated with economic capital because the capital is root of all other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 24). Therefore, it can be presupposed that respondents with higher economic capital have higher numbers of material possessions and higher quality of the possessions as well, which is associated with the *taste*. Thus, the preponderance of large number of art pictures of lowbrow taste (e.g. simple scenery) and a smaller number of art pictures of highbrow taste (e.g. Picasso) is not equivalent in cultural capital perspective. However, the assessment of the association is given in next section.

Table 4.13 consisted of the measures of objectified cultural capital of family. The table showed that majority of the respondents have simple furniture (58.4%) in their homes and some of the respondents have modern fancy furniture (21.7%). However, only 0.4% of the respondents have all types of furniture (antique, artistic, fancy and brand) in their homes except simple. The respondents also have other types of costly furniture such as artistic (5.5%), antique (5.8%) and branded (8.1%).

The table also showed that 48.1% of the respondents have books in their home(s). The average collection of books by the respondents is M = 139.15, SD = 654.786, by fathers is M = 103.47, SD = 526.137, and by mothers is M = 116.70, SD = 668.461. The collection of art pictures in home was another measure of objectified cultural capital, in response to which table showed that 29.9% respondents have art pictures in their homes, whereas, majority of the respondent did not have artistic pictures in their homes (70.1%).

To summarize, 41.1% of the respondents have antique, artistic, modern fancy and branded furniture in their homes. A little less than half of the total number of the respondents have books (48.1%) and a slightly higher than a quarter of total number of the respondents (30%) have art pictures in their homes.

Table 4.14

Frequency and percentage distribution of measures of habitus

Habitus	NI		NVI		SWI		VI		ES	
	f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
How much important for you to										
increase your economic status	41	5.9	87	12.6	81	11.7	250	36.2	231	33.5
have upper class culture	145	21.0	180	26.1	154	22.3	105	15.2	106	15.4
have relations with rich people	163	23.6	179	25.9	146	21.2	94	13.6	108	15.7
have political power or authority	189	27.4	161	23.3	147	21.3	108	15.7	85	12.3
have prestigious education	91	13.2	38	5.5	45	6.5	251	36.4	265	38.4
Total	690	100	690	100	690	100	690	100	690	100

Note: NI = Not important at all, NVI = Not very Important, SWI = Somewhat Important, VI = Very Important, ES = Essential.

Table 4.14 consisted of frequency and percentage distribution of measures of habitus of the respondents. The table showed that nominal percentage of the respondents reported that increasing economic status was not important of them (5.9%), not very important for them (12.6%) and somewhat important to them (11.7%). However, majority of the respondents (69.7%) reported that increasing their economic status was very important (36.2%) and essential (33.5%) for them.

The table also showed what people think about retention of upper class culture as retaining upper class culture was very important (15.2%) and it is essential for 15.4% of them. However, 21% of the respondent said that pertaining upper class culture was not important for them. Similarly, 26.1% respondents reported that having the culture was not very important for them.

The views of the respondents were also different about relations with rich people as 23.6% respondents said that the relations were not important for them at all and 25.9%

respondents reported that the relations were not very much important for them. However, 21.2% respondent have a sort of middle opinion about the relations. Little more than quarter of the respondents (29.3%) said the relations were very important and essential (13.6% and 15.7% respectively) for them.

When respondents were asked about the value they give to possession of political power or authority, 27.4% respondents replied that having the power or authority was not important for them at all, 23.3% said that the power was not very much important for them and 21.3% reported that it was somewhat important for them. A little higher than the quarter of the total number of the respondents (28%) said that possession of the power was very much important and essential for them (15.7% and 12.3% respectively).

Majority of the respondents (74.8%) reported that the acquisition of prestigious education was very important (36.4%) and essential (38.4%) for them or for their children in case if they are married, whereas, minimal percentage of the respondent reported the attainment was somewhat important for them (6.5%). Similarly, less than quarter of total number of the respondents said that gaining the education was not important (13.2%) and not very much important for them (5.5%).

In summary, 70% of the respondents rated enhancement in economic status as very much important and essential for them and 31% of the respondent valued the retention of upper class culture on the same scales. Relations with rich people and preponderance of political power have almost same importance among respondents as the retention of upper class culture because 29.3% and 28% respondents said that the relations and the power, respectively, were very much important and essential for them. Moreover, the respondents give a slightly higher importance to the attainment of prestigious education, for them or for their children in case if they are unmarried, than the enhancement of economic status because 75% of the respondents said that the attainment was very much important and essential for them.

Table 4.15

Frequency and percentage distribution of club membership

Club Membership	Category	Frequency	Percentage
Respondent			
	No	532	77.1
	Yes	158	22.9
Father			
	No	531	77.0
	Yes	159	23.0
Mother			
	No	536	77.7
	Yes	154	22.3

Table 4.15 depicts the description of family's club membership. Bourdieu insisted on the measure as one of the important indicators of social capital, particularly highbrow social capital. Therefore, researcher included it as one of the indicators of highbrow social capital. The table showed that less than a quarter of the total number of the respondents (22.9%) and their parents (father = 23% and mother = 22.3%) were members of a club. On the contrary, majority of the respondents (77.1%) and their parents (father = 77%, mother = 77.7%) did not have club membership.

It can be assumed that respondents with lower income cannot afford club membership because it is very costly, therefore, it can be supposed that respondents with higher income have club membership. Appendix 9 (see page 479) showed that 60% and 83% of the respondents with higher income per month (150000-20000 and >200000 PKR respectively) have club membership.

Table 4.16a

Frequency and percentage distribution of highbrow social capital of the respondents

Relationship	NR		NE		LE		EF		HE	
	f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Respondent										
MNAs / MPAs	379	54.9	73	10.6	90	13.0	78	11.3	70	10.1
Bureaucrats	436	63.2	79	11.4	57	8.3	62	9.0	56	8.1
Industrialists	411	59.6	86	12.5	70	10.1	53	7.7	70	10.1
Top Managers	367	53.2	74	10.7	52	7.5	92	13.3	105	15.2
Army Officers	404	58.6	88	12.8	69	10.0	57	8.3	72	10.4
Local Politician	333	48.3	89	12.9	78	11.3	85	12.3	105	15.2
Total	690	100	690	100	690	100	690	100	690	100

Note: NR = No relationship, NE = Not at all effective, LE = Least effective, EF = Effective, HE = Highly Effective. MNA = member of national assembly, MPA = member of provincial assembly.

Table 4.16a consisted of social capital of the respondents. The table showed that a little more than half of the total number of the respondents maintained “not at all effective relationship” with MNAs / MPAs (54.9%). Slightly lower than a quarter of total number of the respondents (23.6%) have not very effective and least effective (10.6% and 13% respectively) relationship with MNAs / MPAs. However, 11.3% and 10.1% respondents have effective and highly effective relationship, respectively, with these political figures.

In case of relationship with Bureaucrats, majority of the respondents said that they have no relationship (63.2%), 11.4% said they have not very much effective relationship with them. However, nominal percentage of the respondents have least effective (8.3%), effective (9%) and highly effective relationship (8.1%) with them.

When respondents were asked about effectiveness of relationship with industrialist, majority of the respondents (72.1%) replied that they have no relationship and not very much effective relationship (59.6% and 12.5% respectively) with them. Further, a little percentage of

the respondents have least effective (10.1%), effective (7.7%) and highly effective relationship (10.1%) with them.

The effectiveness of relationship of the respondents with top managers such as CEOs was also explored. Majority of the respondents (63.9%) have no relationship and not effective relationship with top managers (53.2% and 10.7% respectively). Minimal percentage of the respondents have least effective relationship with them (7.5%). Similarly, nominal percentage of the respondents have effective (13.3%) and highly effective relationship (15.2%) with them.

The measures of relationship of the respondents with army officers and local politicians showed that 58.6% and 48.3% respondents have no relationship with army officers and local politicians, respectively. Almost same percentage of the respondents have no effective relationship with army officers and local politicians (12.8% and 12.9%, respectively). Similarly, the percentage of least effective relationship of the respondents with these authorities is also almost same (army officers = 10% and local politicians = 11.3%). A small percentage of the respondents have effective and highly effective relationship with army officers (8.3% and 10.4%, respectively) and local politicians (12.3% and 15.2%, respectively).

Resultantly, almost same percentage of the respondents have effective and highly effective relationship with top managers and local politicians (28.5% and 28%, respectively). The percentage of effective and highly effective relationship of the respondents with bureaucrats, industrialist and army officers is lower than 20%. However, a little higher than 20% of the respondents have effective and highly effective relationship with MNAs / MPAs. Cumulatively, majority of the respondents did not have relationship or least effective relationship with all authoritative persons given in the table because the percentage ranged from 61% to 75%.

Table 4.16b

Frequency and percentage distribution of social capital of parents

Relationship	NR		NE		LE		EF		HE	
	f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Father										
MNAs / MPAs	355	51.4	73	10.6	54	7.8	83	12.0	125	18.1
Bureaucrats	436	63.2	65	9.4	33	4.8	65	9.4	91	13.2
Industrialists	429	62.2	70	10.1	34	4.9	61	8.8	96	13.9
Top Managers	435	63.0	64	9.3	40	5.8	67	9.7	84	12.2
Army Officers	425	61.6	64	9.3	41	5.9	69	10.0	91	13.2
Local Politician	363	52.6	63	9.1	43	6.2	78	11.3	143	20.7
Total	690	100	690	100	690	100	690	100	690	100
Mother										
MNAs / MPAs	553	80.1	83	12.0	12	1.7	8	1.2	34	4.9
Bureaucrats	565	81.9	82	11.9	15	2.2	6	0.9	22	3.2
Industrialists	568	82.3	85	12.3	7	1.0	11	1.6	19	2.8
Top Managers	565	81.9	92	13.3	4	0.6	11	1.6	18	2.6
Army Officers	553	80.1	74	10.7	20	2.9	12	1.7	31	4.5
Local Politician	556	80.6	80	11.6	13	1.9	14	2.0	27	3.9
Total	690	100	690	100	690	100	690	100	690	100

Note: NR = No relationship, NE = Not at all effective, LE = Least effective, EF = Effective, HE = Highly Effective. MNA = member of national assembly, MPA = member of provincial assembly.

Table 4.16b is consisted of frequency and percentage distribution of highbrow cultural capital of the parents. The table showed that majority of the fathers (62%) have no relationship and not effective relationship (51.4% and 10.6% respectively) with MNAs / MPAs. Minimal percentage of fathers (7.8%) have least effective relationship with these political figures. A little more than the quarter of total number of fathers have effective (12%) and highly effective relationship (18.1%) with these political figures.

The effectiveness of relationship of fathers with bureaucrats showed that a little lower than quarter of total number of fathers (22.6%) have effective and highly effective relationship (9.4% and 13.2% respectively) with them. However, majority of the fathers have no relationship with them (63.2%), whereas, 9.4% have not effective and 4.8% have least effective relationship with them.

The table also showed the effectiveness of relationship of fathers with industrialist. It showed that majority of the fathers (62.2%) have no relationship with them, 10.1% have no effective relationship, 4.9% have least effective relationship, 8.8% have effective relationship and 13.9% fathers have highly effective relationship with them.

The relationship of fathers with top managers showed that a little lower than a quarter of total number of fathers (22%) have effective and highly effective relationship with them (9.7% and 12.2%, respectively). On the contrary, majority of the fathers (63%) have no relationship with them. However, 9.3% and 5.8% have not very much effective and least effective relationship with them, respectively.

Majority of the fathers (61.6%) have no relationship with army officers. Nominal percentage of fathers (9.3%) have "not very effective relationship" with army officers. On the contrary, 10% and 13.2% fathers have effective and highly effective relationship with them, respectively. A little percentage of fathers (5.9%) have least effective relationship with army officers.

Slightly higher than half of the total number of fathers (52.6%) have no relationship with local politicians. On the contrary, 11.3% and 20.7% fathers have effective and highly effective relationship with them respectively. Very small percentage of fathers (9.1%) have 'not very much effective' relationship and least effective relationship (6.2%) with local politicians.

The table also showed effectiveness of relationship of mothers with these authoritative figures. The table showed that very low percentage of mothers have highly effective relationship with MNAs / MPAs (4.9%), bureaucrats (3.2%), industrialists (2.8%), top managers (2.6%), army officers (4.5%) and local politicians (3.9%). Similarly, minimal percentage of mothers have effective relationship with MNAs / MPAs (1.2%), bureaucrats (0.9%), industrialists (1.6%), top managers (1.6%), army officers (1.7%) and local politicians (2%). Majority of the mothers have no relationship with MNAs / MPAs (80.1%), bureaucrats

(80.9%), industrialists (82.3%), top managers (81.9%), army officers (80.1%) and local politicians (80.6%).

The table also showed that 12% mothers have not very much effective relationship with MNAs / MPAs and their minimal percentage (1.7%) have least effective relationship with these political figures. Similarly, 11.9% mothers have not very much effective relationship with bureaucrats. Their nominal percentage (2.2%) have least effective relation with same authoritative figures. Further, 13.3%, 10.7% and 11.6% mothers have not very much effective relationship with top managers, army officers and local politicians, respectively. Very small percentage of mothers have least effective relationship with top managers, army officers and local politicians (0.6%, 2.9% and 1.9%, respectively).

Overall, majority of the parents have no relationship with authoritative persons given in the table. However, the range of no relationship is higher among mothers (91% to 95.2%) comparing with fathers (61% to 73%) and respondents (61% to 75%). Furthermore, the percentage of highly effective relationship with authoritative persons (except top managers) is high among fathers comparing with respondents and mothers.

4.2 Association of variables

This section attempted to explore the association of social positions with capitals of respondents and their parents. The univariate analysis organized and described basic information, whereas, this section incorporated relational logic of Bourdieusian reproduction theory, whereby, a preliminary in-depth analysis of the data was conducted. This section focused upon each social position considering the analytical propositions of class condition, presumably homogeneous, and its association with life chances. In other words, this section focused upon reciprocal relationship between class fractions and conditions of existence or the conditions that shape the life of agents in the social space.

However, the following section is not social space of positions or lifestyle because each Multiple Correspondence Analysis is confined to a variable e.g. economic capital. In this regard, the section only focused upon the indicators of each variable (instead of the composite variable) and class fractions, whereby, the association of each fraction(s) with each indicator was explored. It also has an advantage of simplification of large amount of data due to its graphical representation instead of cross tabulation of each indicator with class fractions. Therefore, the association section provides a richer understanding of relationship between social positions and capitals.

4.2.1 *Economic capital and social positions*

This section focused on the identification of social positions with economic capital in Southern Punjab. Researcher used Multiple Correspondence Models (MCA) for each stakeholder i.e. respondent, father and mother. This is an appropriate way to identify the relationship of measures of economic capital with social position of each stakeholder because the analysis shows multiple relationships in one figure that Chi-squares is unable to illustrate simultaneously with categorical data.

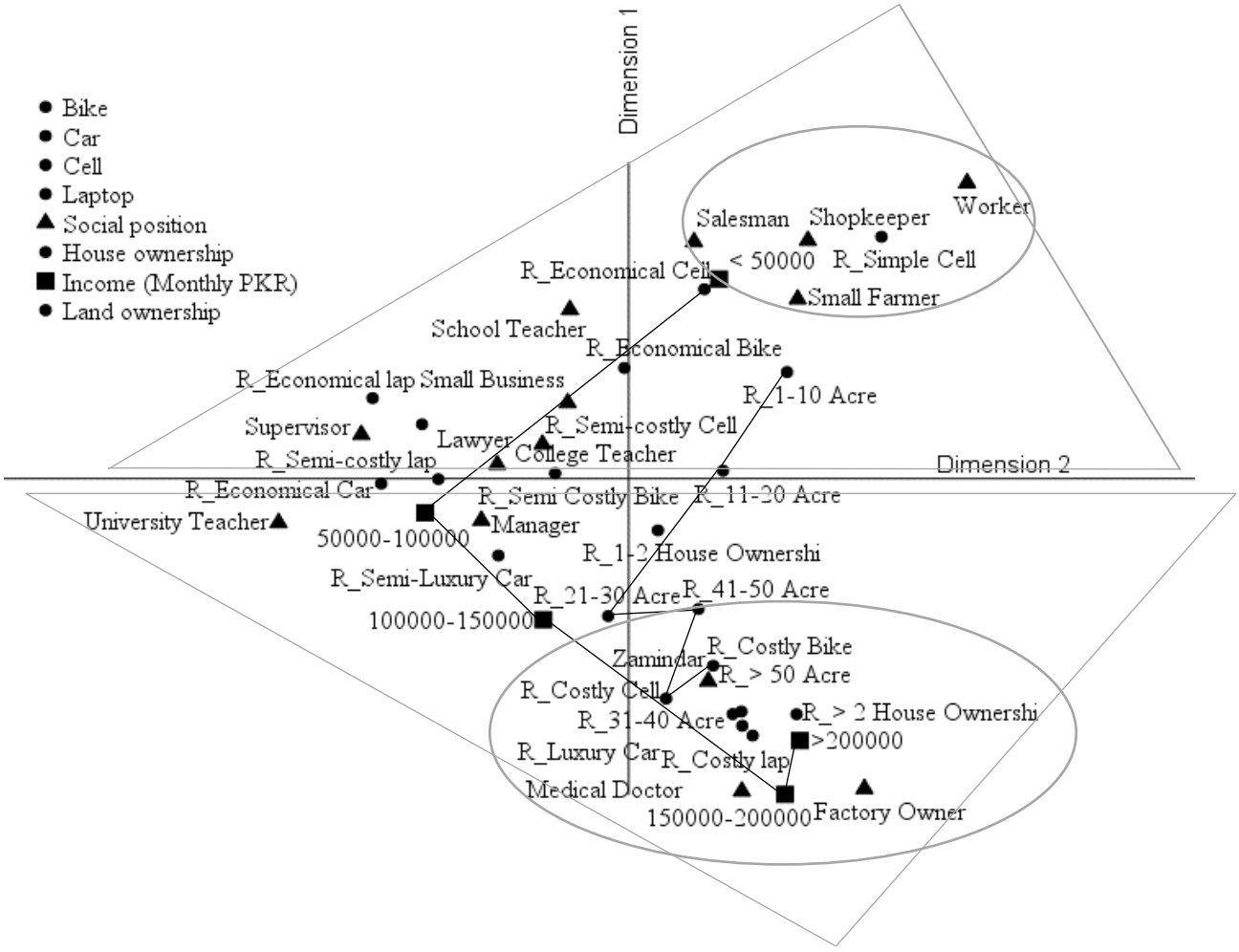

Figure 4.1a. Social positions and economic capital of the respondents

Figure 4.1a showed the multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) of social positions of the respondents and their economic capital. The Eigenvalue of Dimension 1 is 5.57 (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.938$, Inertia = 0.697), and of dimension 2 is 4.091 ($\alpha = 0.864$, Inertia = 0.511). The value of total Inertia is 1.208, Mean = 0.604.

The figure depicts that medical doctors, factory owners and zamindar have highest income per month; and have luxury cars, costly mobile phones and laptops. Further, they also owned >40 acres of cultivatable land and more than two houses. On the contrary, workers, small farmers, shopkeepers, salesmen and school teachers have lowest economic capital. They possess simple mobile phones e.g. Nokia 1110, and economical bikes e.g. Honda 70. They earn less than 50000 PKR per month which indicated that they do not own house, car and other costly or semi-costly material possessions. The figure also showed those social positions hanging between these two economic extremes, which are small businessmen, lawyers, college teachers, supervisors, university teachers and managers. They earn between 50000 PKR to 150000 PKR, owned one or two houses, semi-costly or economical mobile phones, cars, laptops and motorbikes.

Figure 4.1b depicts the MCA of social positions of fathers and their economic capital. The dimension 1 and 2 accounted for by 70% and 50% of variance in the data. The eigenvalue of dimension 1 is 5.62 ($\alpha = 0.939$), and of dimension 2 is 4.034 ($\alpha = 0.860$). The value of total Inertia is 1.206, Mean = 0.603.

The figure showed that medical doctors, politicians, engineers, university teachers and zamindar earn more than 150000 PKR monthly, whereas, 90% factory owners earn more than 200000 PKR per month. Most of them own costly motorbikes, laptops and mobile phones. They also have luxury cars and more than 40 acres of cultivatable land in their possession. Although, factory owners are closer with more than two houses ownership but other professions in the circle are also close with the indicators which showed that some of them have more than two houses ownership such as 17.5% zamindar have more than two houses. On the contrary, the figure showed that 56% workers, 66% school teachers, 84% salesmen and 76% supervisors earn less than 50000 PKR monthly. Most of them either have simple or economical mobile phones and economical motorbike. Lastly, some social positions are in between of these two extremes of economic capital. These social positions are manager, college teacher, small businessman, lawyer, government employee and retired. Most of them earn between 50000 to 150000 PKR monthly, however, mangers are closer to highest income in this circle (52% earn 50000-100000 PKR monthly). Furthermore, they owned one to two houses, semi-costly and economical cars, mobile phones, laptops and motorbike. It can be seen that among this group, some of the mangers have semi-luxury cars (28.6%) while other have economical cars.

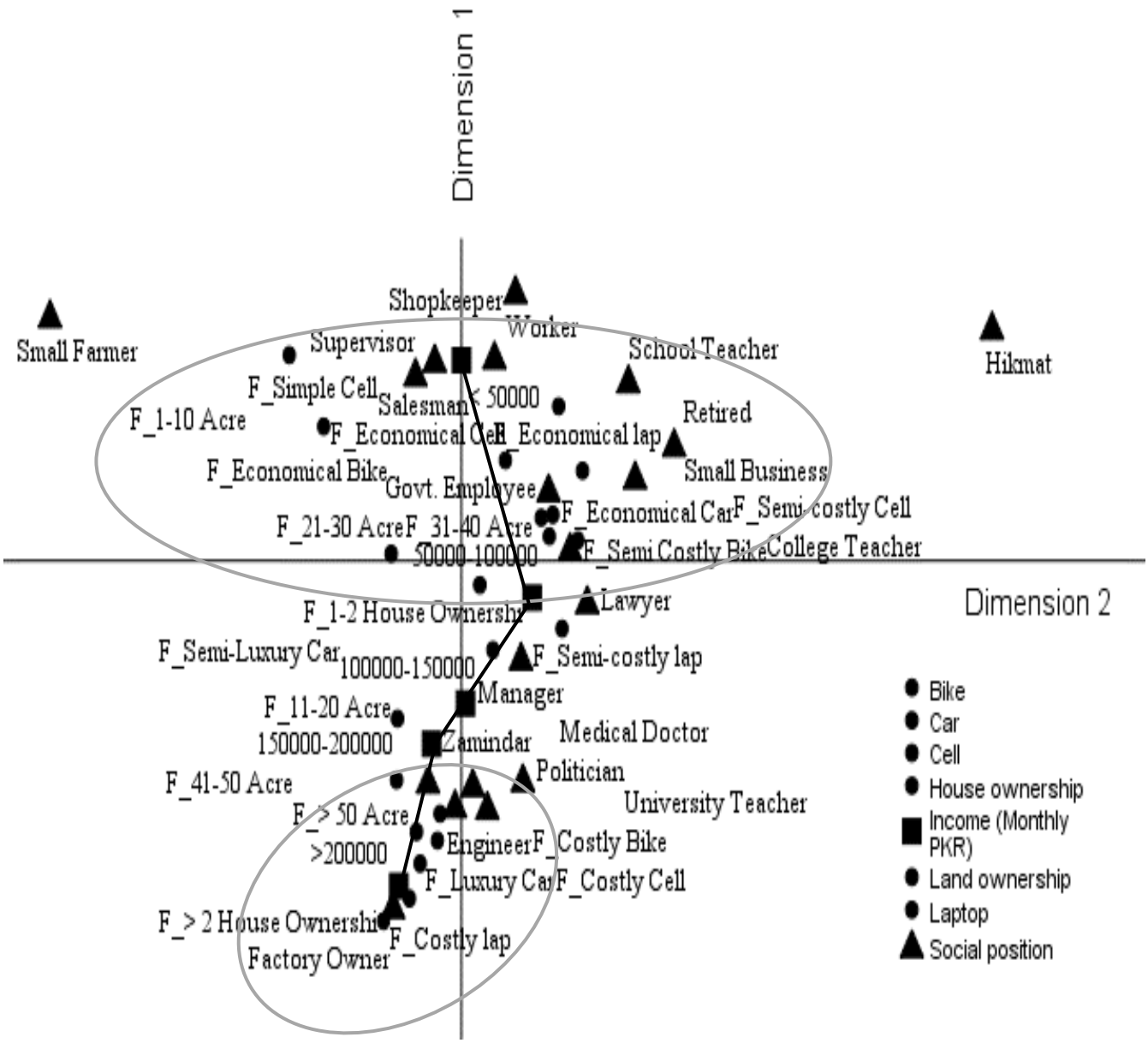

Figure 4.1b. Social positions of fathers and economic capital

Figure 4.1c showed the results of MCA of social positions and economic capital of mothers. The eigenvalue of dimension 1 is 7.0 (α = 1.00, Inertia = 1.00) and of dimension 2 is 5.365 (α = 0.949, Inertia = 0.766). The value of total Inertia is 1.766, Mean = 0.883.

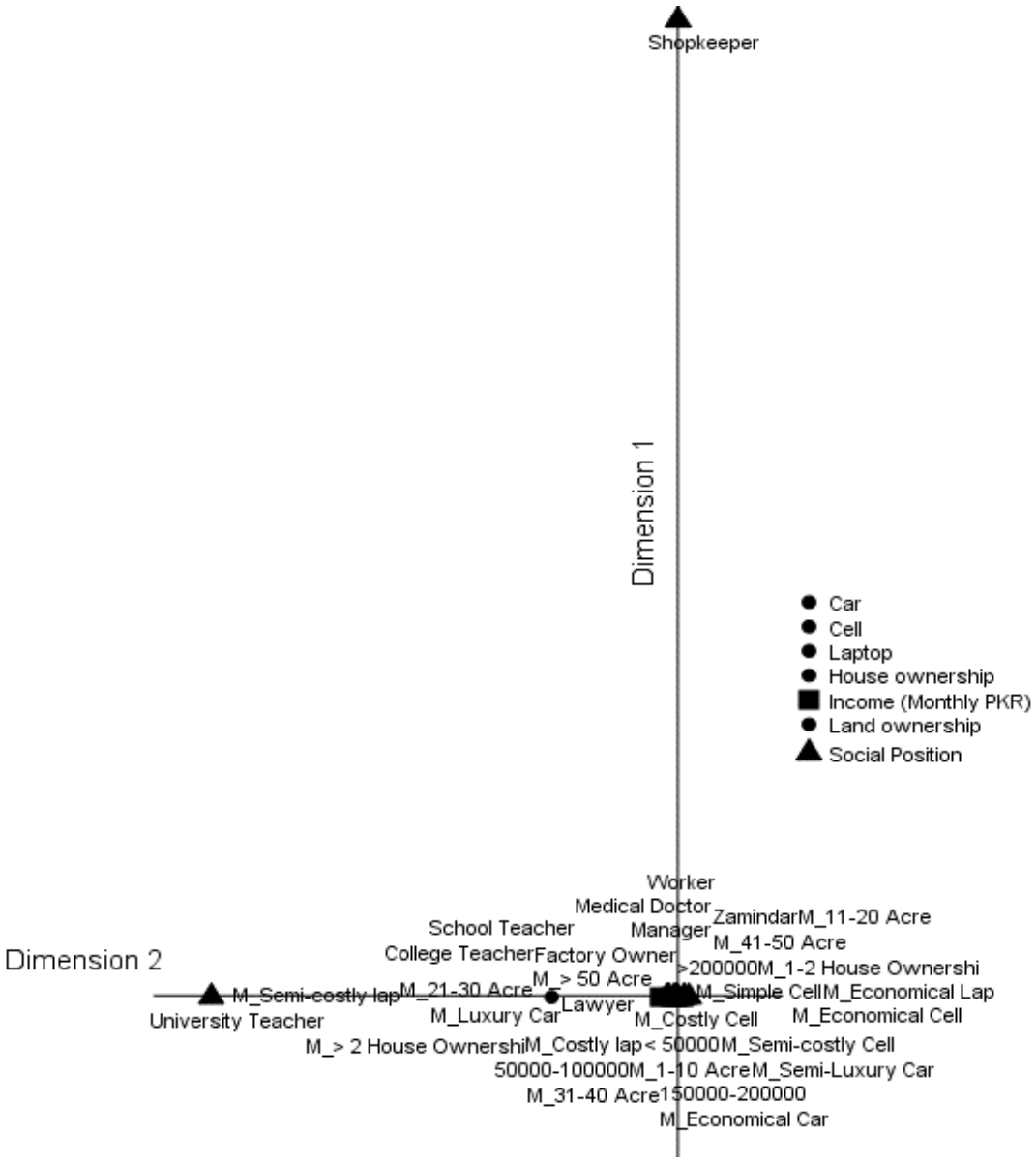

Figure 4.1c. Social positions of mothers and economic capital

The figure showed that more than 90% of the data is closer to housewife category, whereby, highest and lowest economic capital is in one quadrant. It is important to note that patriarchal structure of the country especially of South Punjab determines the economic capital of women. Being housewives, their necessities are responsibilities of male family members, particularly of husbands and fathers (Farid et al., 2014). Therefore, it is difficult to distinguish between mothers' economic capital in terms of their social positions. However, one possible

solution is to exclude housewives from the analysis but it could not be possible because large amount of data of mothers (91.2%) revolves around the social position. Further, the proposition of patriarchic structure of South Punjab is considered in class construction, whereby, mothers are not included in the process (see figure 4.10a and b).

4.2.2 Cultural capital and social position

The section focused on association between social positions and cultural activities in Southern Punjab. Considering the fact that economic capital is the base of all other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986), in the previous section, researcher identified association between social positions and economic capital. Similarly, this section identified the association of cultural activities, viewing habits, viewing habits, etc. with social positions of the respondents and parents.

4.2.2.1 Cultural activities and social positions

Figure 4.2a showed the results of MCA of social positions and cultural activities of the respondents. The two-dimensional solution accounted for by 39% (Mean = 0.18) of the variance in the data. The eigenvalue of dimension 1 is 4.55 ($\alpha = 0.824$, Inertia = 0.239), and dimension 2 is 2.3 ($\alpha = 0.597$, Inertia = 0.121).

The figures showed that swimming, boating, hunting and weightlifting are associated with Zamindar. Majority of the previous researches used visit to galleries and museums as vital indicators of cultural capital. This study also focused on these indicators and found 97.5% factory owners, 70% university teachers and 54% medical doctors visit art galleries. It was also found that 85% of factory owners, 78% university teachers and 60% medical doctors visit museums. Factory owners also have higher percentage of other cultural activities such as outdoor sports (97%), social meetings (80%), horse riding (92.5%), swimming (77.5%) and visit foreign countries (87.5%).

Similarly, medical doctors, zamindar and university teachers also have higher percentage of performing other cultural activities such as 78% zamindar participate in social meetings and 76% in horse riding. Visit to foreign countries are also famous among medical doctors (54%), zamindar (42%) and university teachers (26%). Most of the university teachers and medical doctors care about their health because 66% and 40% of them, respectively,

exercise yoga. Cruising is a favorite of factory owners (55%) and medical doctors (52%), whereas, hunting is popular among zamindar (60%).

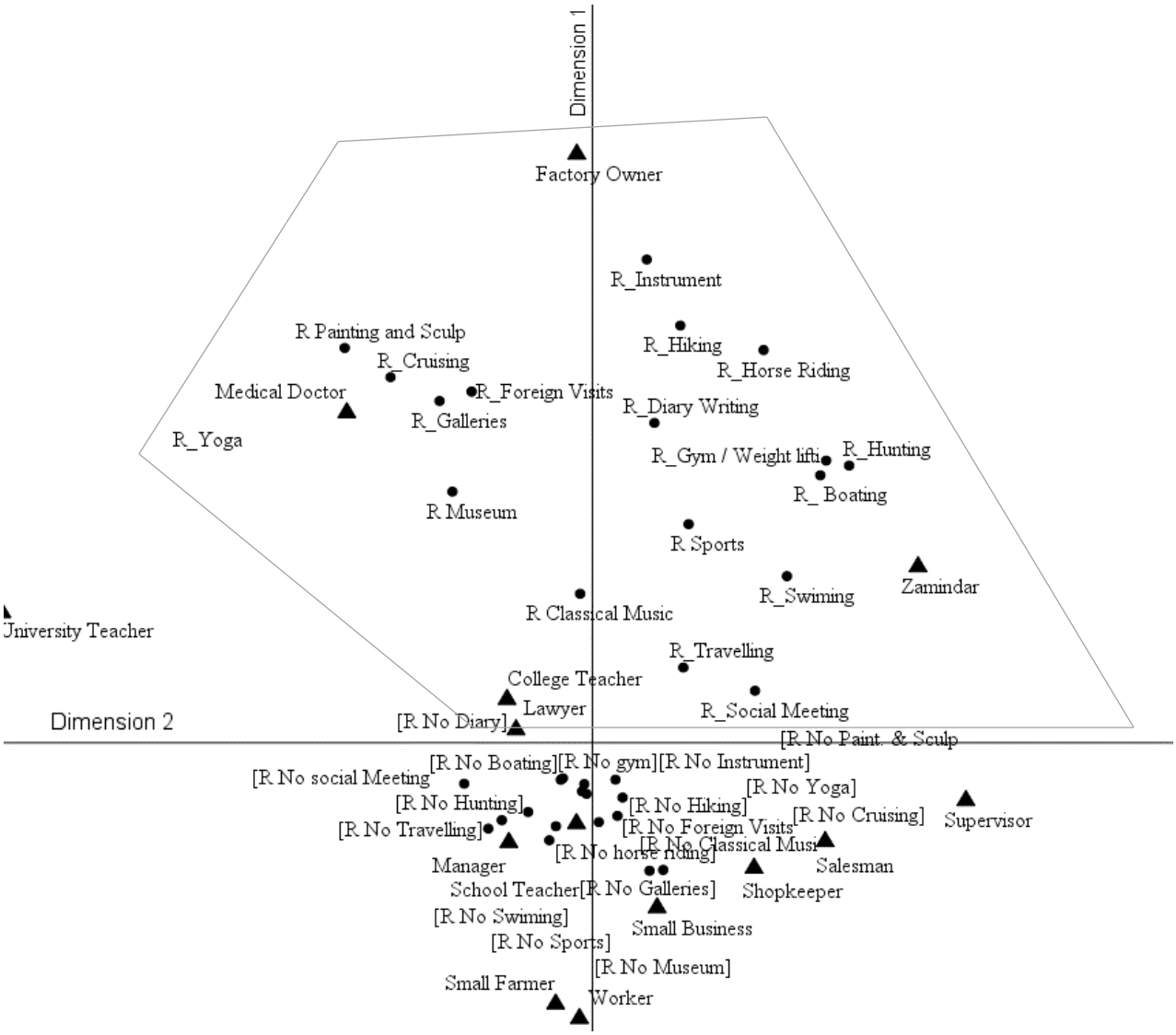

Figure 4.2a. Social positions and cultural activities of the respondents

Figure 4.2b Showed MCA of social positions of father and associated cultural activities. The dimension 1 (s^2 = 26.1%) and dimension 2 (s^2 = 13.11%) accounted for 39% of variance in the data. The Cronbach's alpha values of dimensions are reasonably satisfactory (D1 = 0.843 and D2 = 0.632). The figure showed that dimension 1 and dimension 2 distinguish factory owners from rest of the social positions.

Their favorite cultural activity is cruising (56.4%) and visit to foreign countries (76.9%), whereas, horse riding (74.4%) and participating in social meetings (87.2%) is even more popular among them. Zamindars also highly participate in social meetings (82.4%) and like horse riding (76.5%). Majority of the factory owners visit foreign countries (76.9%), whereas, very low percentage of zamindars (4.4%) do the same.

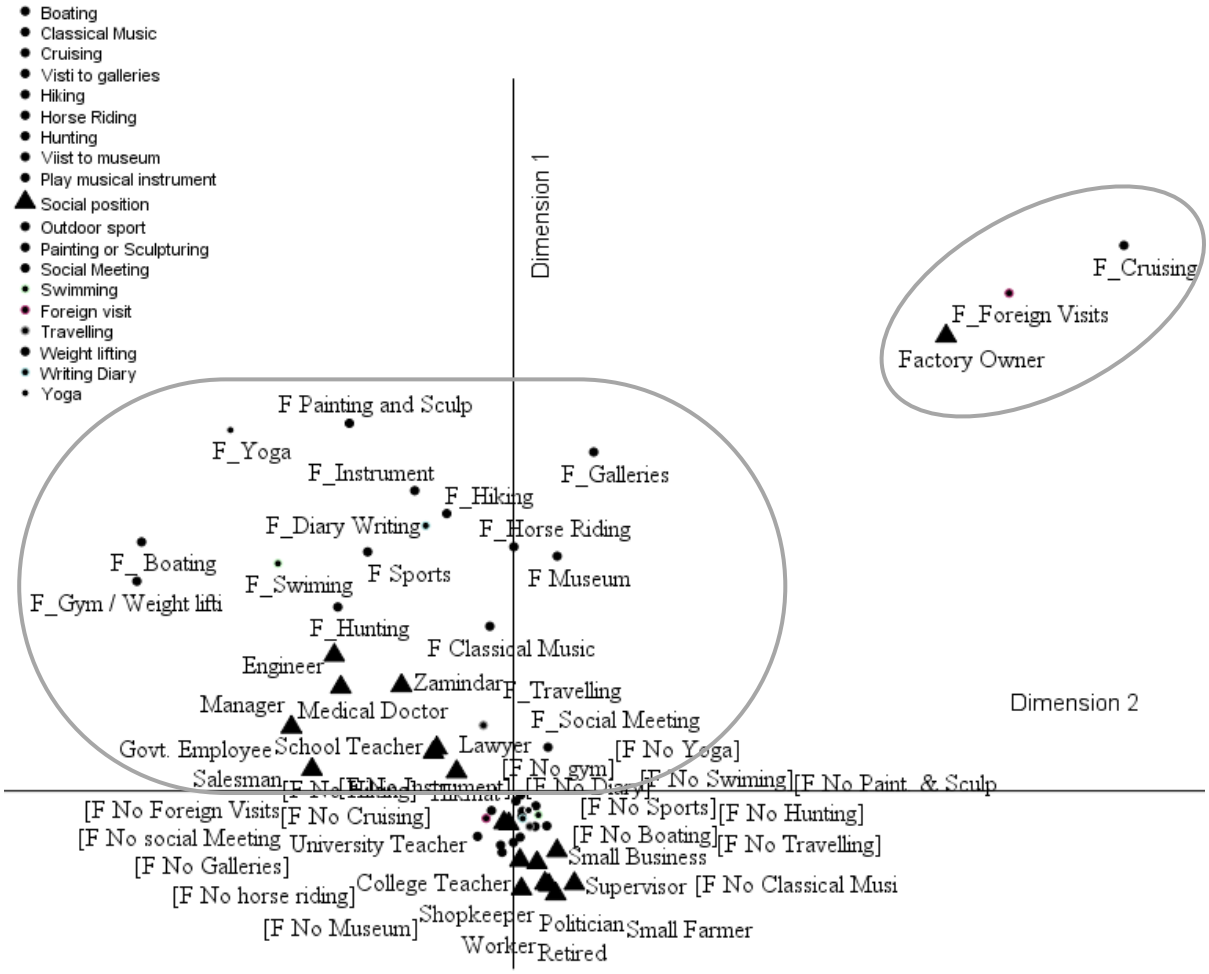

Figure 4.2b. Social positions and cultural activities of fathers

Moreover, visiting galleries and museums are favorite cultural activities of factory owners (87.2% and 94.9% respectively) and engineers (45% and 72.7% respectively). However, painting and sculpturing is most favorite cultural activity of engineers (76.4%). Medical doctors are interested in visiting galleries (40%) and listening to classical music (60%). University teachers also listen to classical music (57.1%) and some of them play outdoor games (42%). Majority of the government employees visit galleries (83%), listen to classical music (66.7%) and play outdoor games (83.3%). Most of the managers are also

interested in such cultural activities such as 50% of them visit galleries, 60% visit museums, play outdoor games, do swimming and yoga.

Figure 4.2c showed the results of MCA of social positions and cultural activities of mothers. The two-dimensional solution accounted for 39.5% of variance in the data. The eigenvalues of dimension 1 ($\alpha = 0.835$, $s^2 = 25.2\%$) and dimension 2 ($\alpha = 0.0.67$, $s^2 = 14.26\%$) are 4.79 and 2.71 respectively.

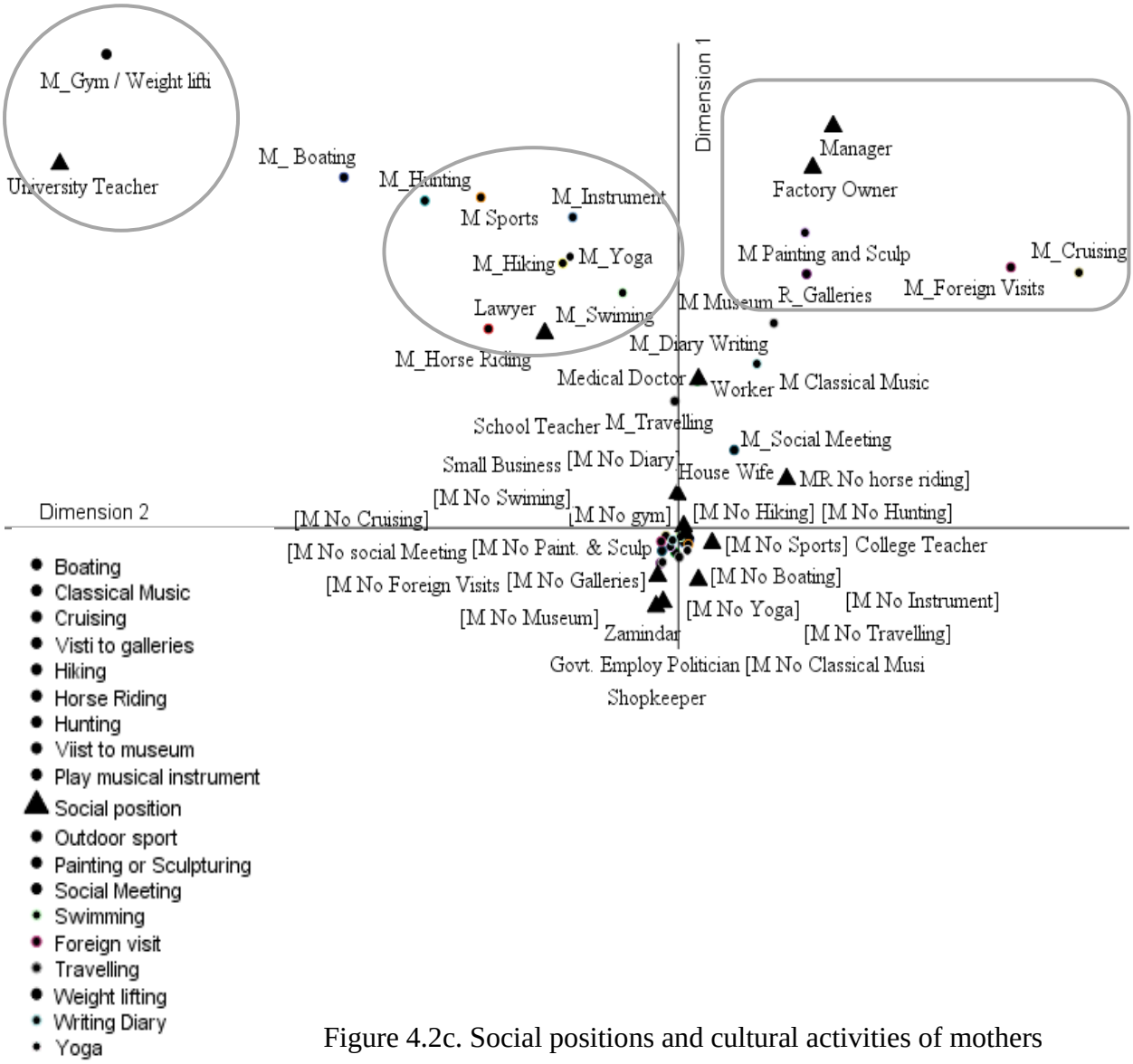

Figure 4.2c. Social positions and cultural activities of mothers

The figure showed that boating (71.4%) and exercising in gym (57.1%) are favorite activities of university teachers. It was also found that 66.7% medical doctors visit art galleries and museums, whereas, 50% factory owners and 28.6% university teachers visit museums.

Interestingly, 16.7% university teachers and 78.6% housewives practiced yoga comparing with rest of the social positions of mothers.

Similarly, housewives have highest percentage of foreign visits (94.1%), whereas, 50% factory owners also visit foreign countries. In a nutshell, most of the highbrow cultural activities are found among housewives such as 41.2% of them visit art galleries, 39.9% visit museums, 46.6% participate in social meetings and 85% do swimming. Moreover, among all of the social positions who like cruising, 95.2% of the housewives are fond of cruising. Similarly, majority of the housewives (94.1%) visit foreign countries. However, apart from economic capital, the figure 4.2c identified that factory owners, university teachers, managers and medical doctors have highbrow cultural capital in terms of cultural activities.

4.2.2.2 Reading habits, parlance and social positions

Figure 4.3a showed the result of MCA of reading habits, parlance and social positions of the respondents. The two-dimensional solution accounted for by 44.9% of the variance in the data. The eigenvalues of dimension 1 ($\alpha = 0.84$, $s^2 = 0.321$) and dimension 2 ($\alpha = 0.47$, $s^2 = 0.128$) are 4.495 and 1.786 respectively. The mean eigenvalue is 3.14 and mean inertia is 0.224.

The figure showed that 52% zamindar, 97.5% factory owner, 90% university teacher and 98% medical doctors have bourgeois parlance, whereas, salesman and shopkeeper are found closer to common parlance. The figure also showed that factory owners are fond of reading English / Urdu novels (60%), biographies (87.5%), modern culture (77.5%), and art and literature (70%). Most of the managers (44%) and university and college teachers (42% and 40% respectively) read English newspaper, however, majority of the respondents read Urdu newspaper such as more than 70% factory owner, 72% college teacher, 66% school teacher, 60% university teacher and 64% zamindar read the newspaper. As the figure showed that philosophy is least popular among all social positions, yet 40% university teacher and 58% lawyers used to read the subject. Lastly, art and literature is most favorite among factory owners only because 28% of them read the subject which is the highest percentage comparing with other social positions.

Figure 4.3b showed the relationship of fathers' social positions, reading and parlance. The results of MCA depict that 47% of the variance in the data is accounted for two-dimensional solution. Dimension 1 accounted for 37.2% of the variance in the data (eigenvalue = 5.21, $\alpha = 0.870$). The dimension 2 accounted for 10% of the variance in the data. It has 1.41 eigenvalue and 0.313 alpha value. The mean eigenvalue is 3.31 and mean inertia is 0.24.

The figured showed that bourgeois parlance is closer to university teacher (71%), medical doctor (100%) and lawyer (77%). However, factory owners and managers also have the same parlance because 79.5% and 85% of them, respectively, are related with the category. The figure also showed that biographies (79%), English novels (74%), history (62%), modern culture (36%), philosophy (36%) and English newspaper (85%) are closer to factory owner than other social positions, whereas, religious text is read by farmers, workers, small businessmen and government employees.

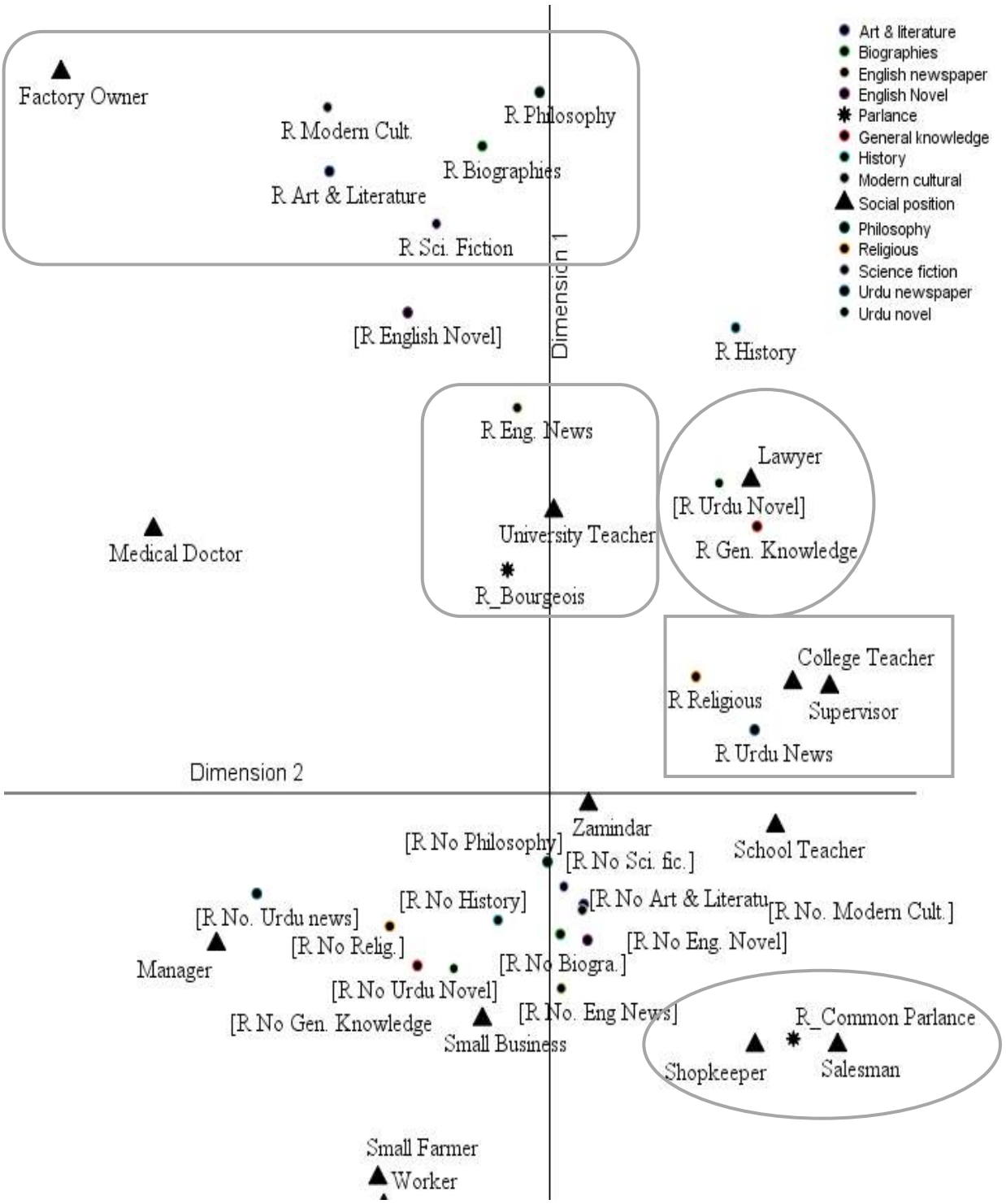

Figure 4.3a. Social positions, parlance and reading habits of the respondents

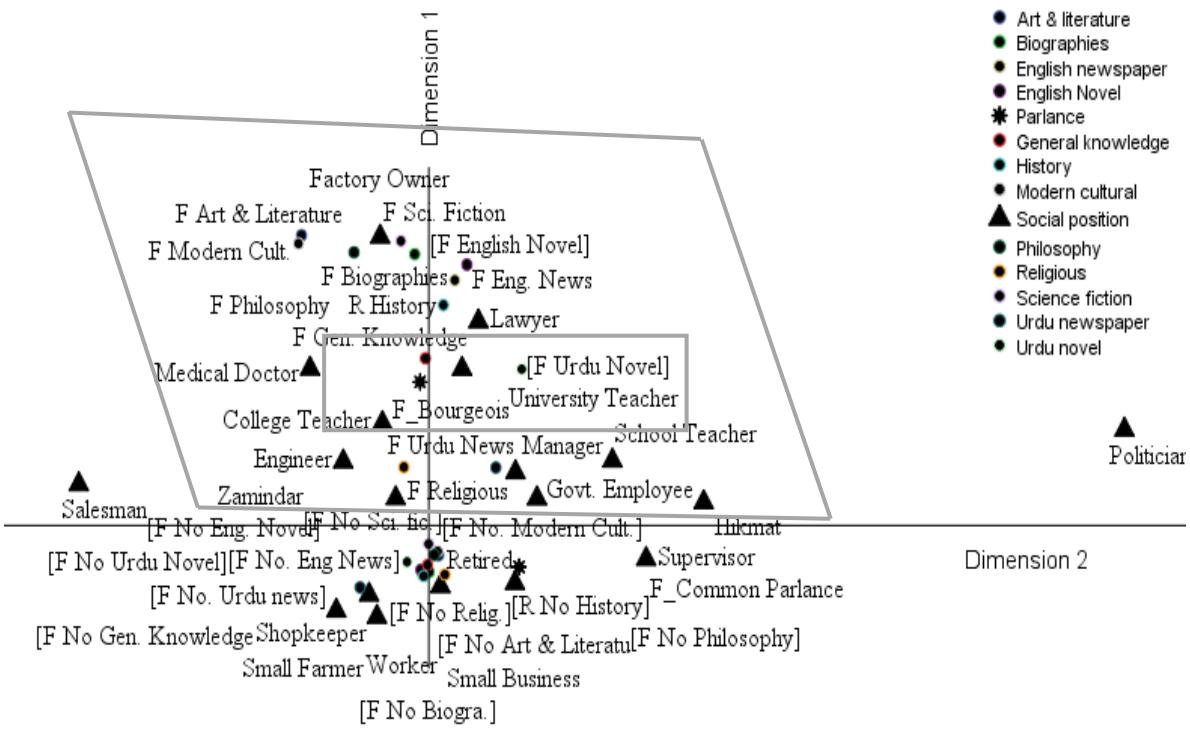

Figure 4.3b. Social positions, parlance and reading habits of fathers

Figure 4.3c showed mothers' social position, reading habits and parlance. The MCA results revealed that almost 42% of the variance in the data explained by dimension 1 (eigenvalue = 5.860, $\alpha = 0.893$), whereas, dimension 2 accounted for by almost 11% of the variance in the data (eigenvalue = 1.498, $\alpha = 0.358$). However, the dimensions explained almost 53% of the variance in the data cumulatively. The mean variance is 0.263 and mean eigenvalue is 3.68 of the dimensions.

The figure showed that majority of the data is divided by dimension 2 into two poles, whereby, almost half of the categories clustered around the category "housewife" and other half among factory owner, university teacher and manager. The upper half of the figure consisted of social positions that used bourgeois parlance –the parlance is closer to manger, factory owner, schoolteachers and university teachers. Within the category, 3.8% university teachers, 1.5% factory owners and 0.8% managers use the parlance, whereas, 80% housewives use to speak the parlance. Moreover, within each of these social positions, 16.5% housewives, 71.4% university teachers and all factory owners and managers use the parlance. The figure also showed that most of the factory owners, university teachers and managers read modern culture, biographies, English novel, history, science fiction and English newspaper.

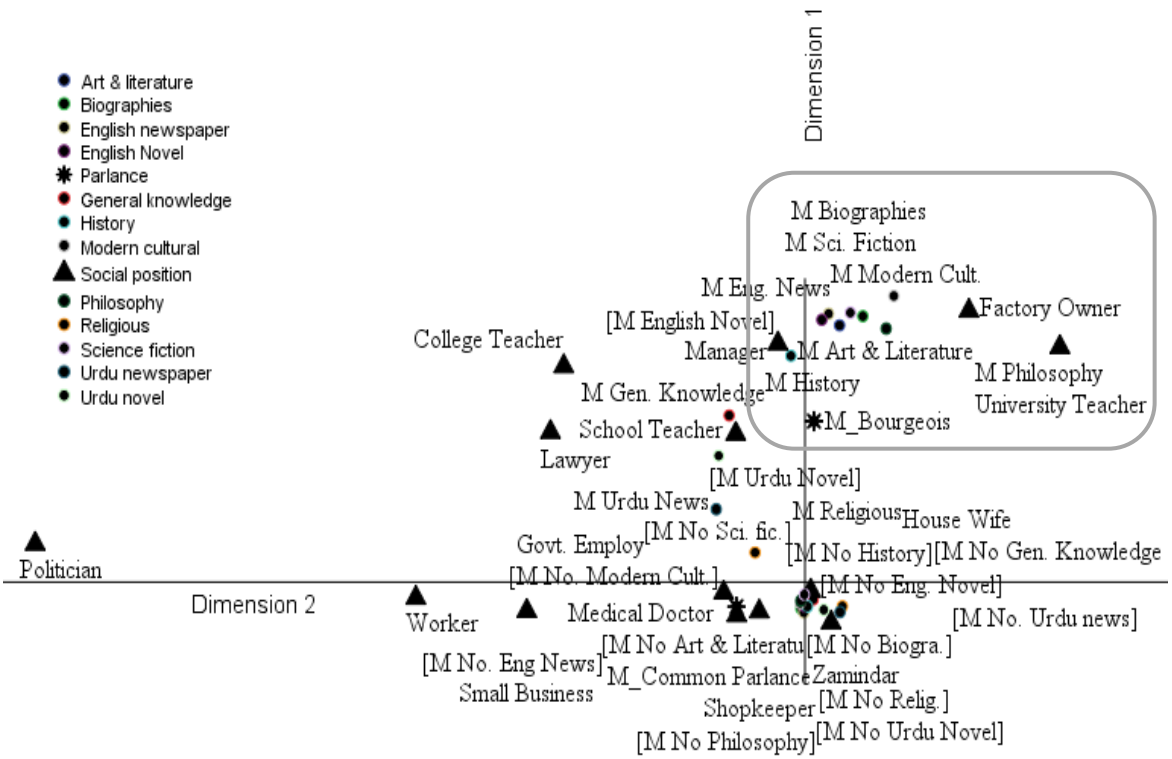

Figure 4.3c. Social positions, parlance and reading habits of mothers

4.2.2.3 Viewing habits and social positions

Figure 4.4a depicts the results of relationship between respondents' viewing habits and social positions. The figure showed that more than half of the categories are clustered on dimension 1 (eigenvalue = 5.226, α = 0.863) that explained almost 32.7% of the variance in the data. The eigenvalue of dimension 2 is 1.88 with the alpha of 0.449. Dimension 2 explained 11.74% variance in the data. The two dimensional solution accounted for 44% of the variance in the data.

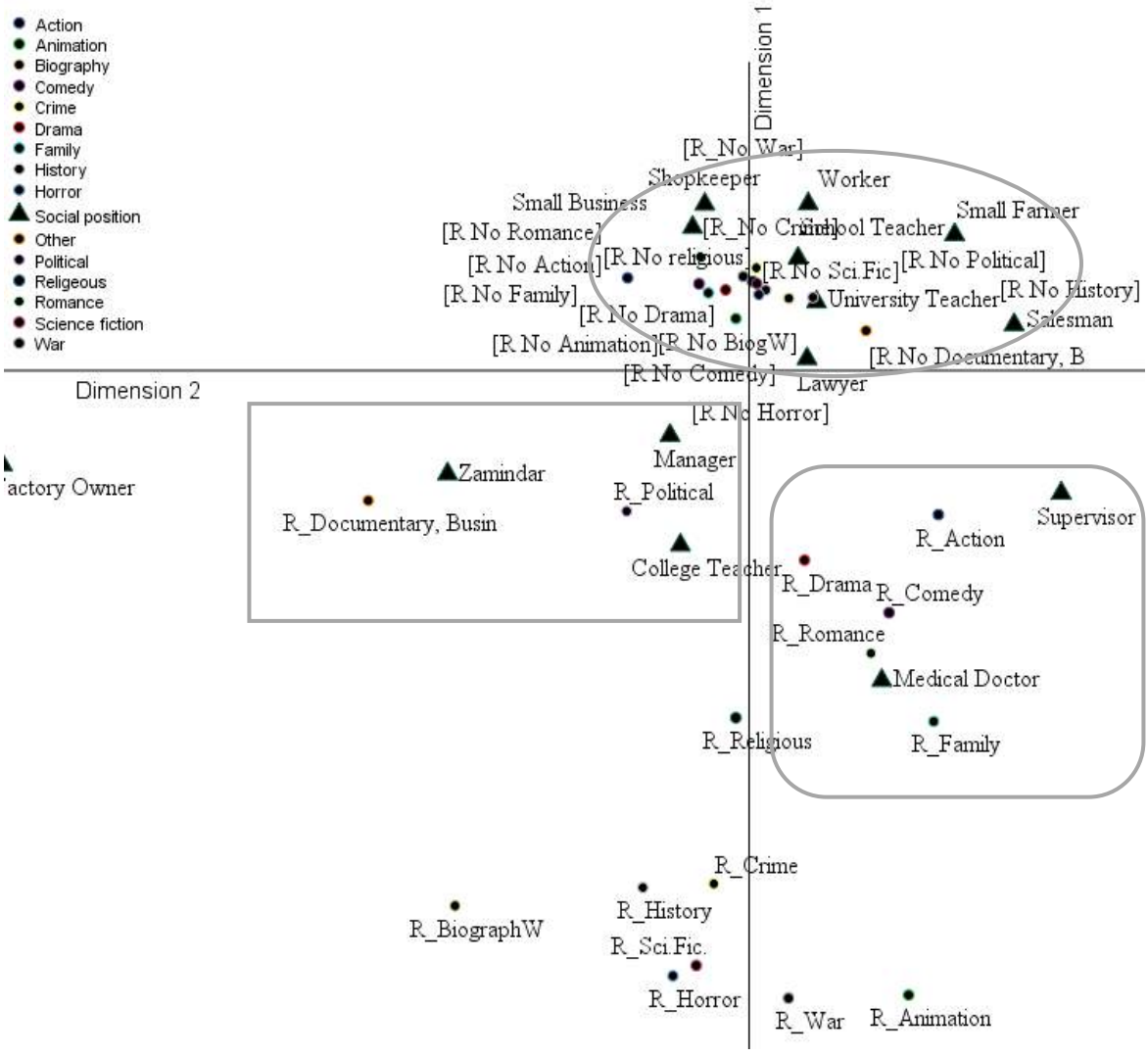

Figure 4.4a. Social positions and viewing habits of the respondents

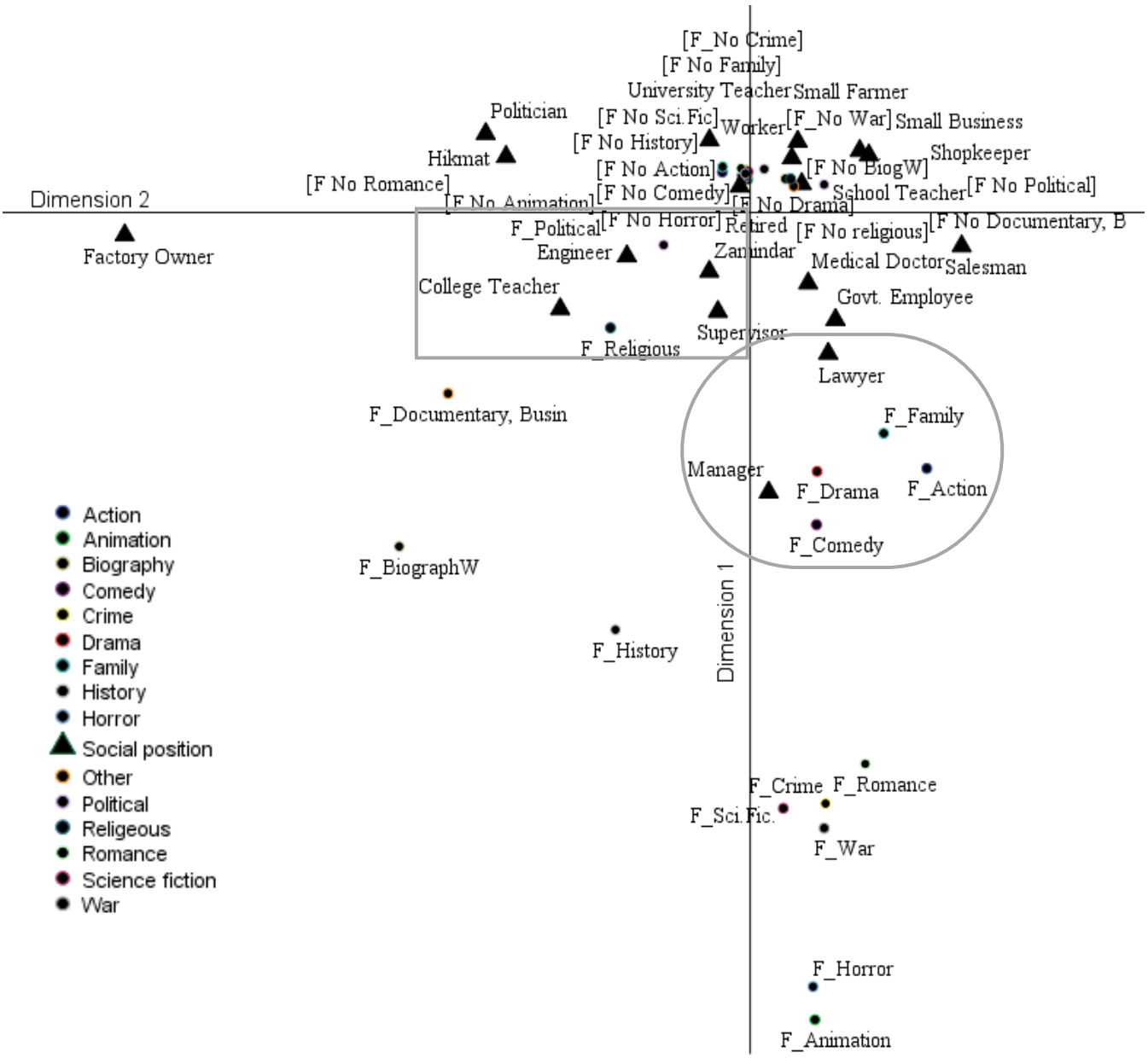

Figure 4.4b. Social positions and viewing habits of fathers

The figure showed that political and other genre (Documentary, business news, fashion shows and sports) are closer to zamindar, factory owners, managers and college teachers. Among all the factory owners, 90% watch 'other' genre, whereas, 42% zamindar, 38% college teachers and 32% managers watch the genre. Similarly, most of the zamindar (62%), factory owners (45%) and managers (32%) watch political genre (e.g., news channels, talk shows, political movies, etc.). The figure also showed that the highest percentage of watching romance genre (50%) is found within medical doctors. However, other genres such as family, comedy, religious and drama are also closer to the social position. Moreover, some of the genres are

clustered together at the upper center of dimension 1 which showed that almost all social positions are not much interested to watch movies, shows, documentaries etc.

Figure 4.4b is consisted of the results of two-dimensional MCA to examine the nature of relationship between viewing habits and social positions of fathers. The two dimensions accounted for by 45% of the variance in the data. Dimension 1 (eigenvalue = 5.4, $\alpha = 0.869$) and dimension 2 (eigenvalue = 1.9, $\alpha = 0.497$) explained 33.7% and 11.7% of the variance in the data respectively. The mean eigenvalue of dimensions is 3.63 and mean variance is 22.7%.

The figure showed that religious and other genres are common to watch among factory owners (74.4%), whereas, it is also associated with zamindar, supervisor, engineer and college teacher. Managers are found closer to comedy (38.1%), drama (43%), action (23.8%) and family genre (28.6%). Moreover, medical doctors (33.3%), lawyers (33.8%) and government employees (22%) also watch family genre. On the lower center of the figures, some categories such as romance, crime, war etc. are clustered which indicated that majority of the social positions are least likely to watch these genres.

Figure 4.4c is graphical depiction of association between measures of mothers' viewing habits and social positions. The two-dimensional solution of MCA showed that dimension 1 has eigenvalue of 5.438 with the Cronbach's alpha of 0.871 ($s^2 = 34\%$). However, dimension 2 explained 8.4% of the variance in the data (eigenvalue = 1.34, $\alpha = 0.269$). Cumulatively, the two dimensions accounted for by 42.3% of the variance in the data with the mean variance of 21.2% and mean eigenvalue of 3.39.

The figured showed that majority of the data is clustered at the intersection point of two dimensions, wherein, zamindar, government employees and housewives are located. The measures indicated that majority of the social positions do not watch almost all types of genres. However, the most watched genre among all social positions of mothers is drama because the genre has the highest percentage among all the social positions such as all managers, small businesswomen and politicians watch drama, whereas, 64.7% zamindar, 45% school teachers , 50% factory owners, lawyers (50%) and workers (50%) also watch the genre.

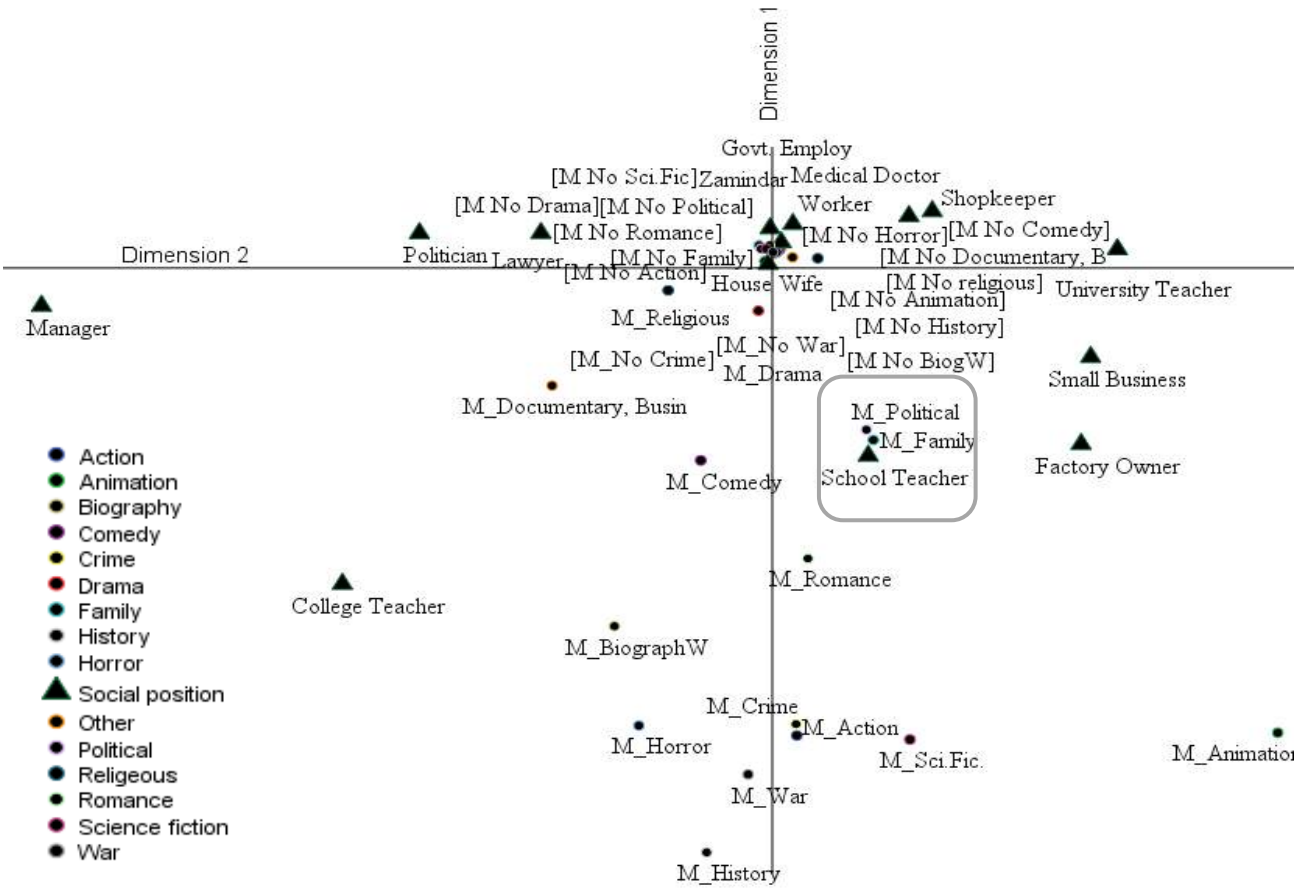

Figure 4.4c. Social positions and viewing habits of mothers

4.2.2.4 Preference of music and social positions

Figure 4.5a showed association between respondents' preferred music type and social positions. The MCA results showed that dimension 1 explained 25.3% of the variance in data (eigenvalue = 2.533, α = 0.68), whereas, 19.8% of the variance explained by dimension 2 (eigenvalue = 1.98, α = 0.55). The two-dimensional solution accounted for by 45% of the variance in the data with the mean variance of 22.6% and mean eigenvalue of 2.26.

The figure showed that choral, blues and reggae music is associated with factory owners, whereas, rap, pop, Jazz and rock is popular among medical doctors, university teachers and managers. Interestingly, majority of the social positions including zamindar preferred to listen folk and classical music.

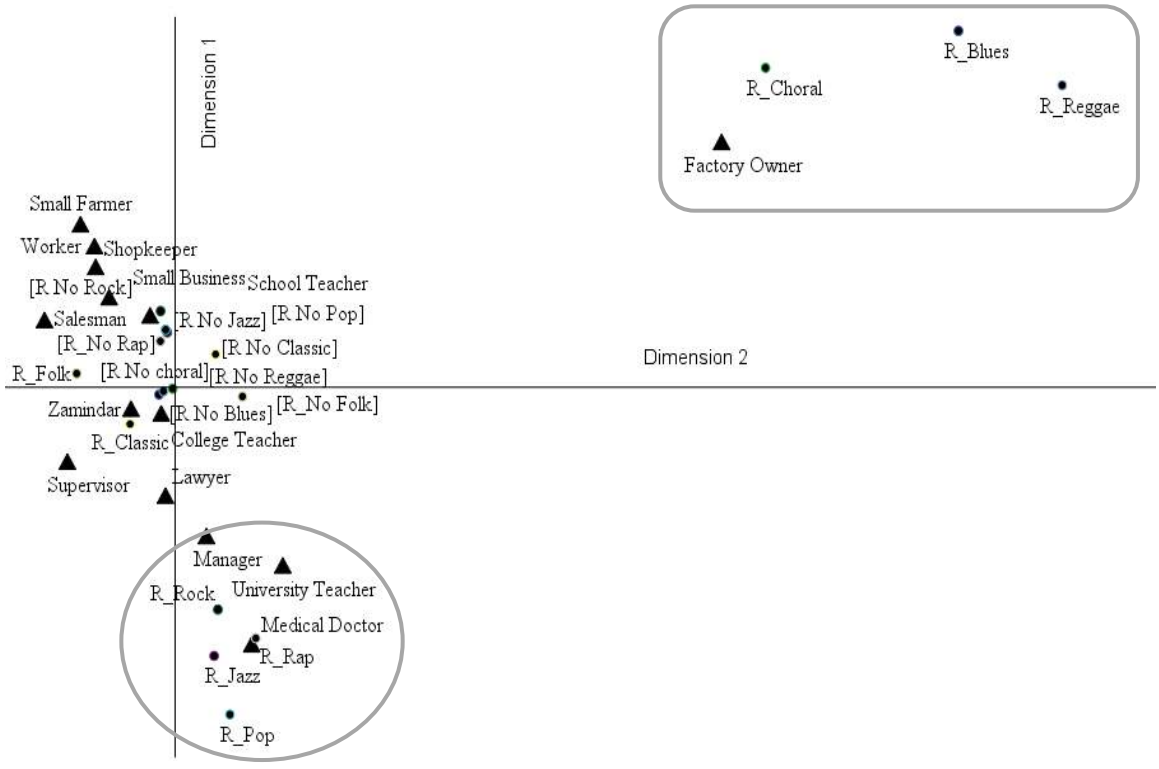

Figure 4.5a. Social positions and preference of music of the respondents

Figure 4.5b showed the graphical results of MCA on two-dimensional solution. The total inertia of the dimensions is 0.41. Dimension 1 accounted for 23.8% (eigenvalue = 2.38, α = 0.645 and dimension 2 (eigenvalue = 1.71, α = 0.46) accounted for by 17% of the variance in the data. The mean variance of dimensions is 20.44 and the mean eigenvalue is 2.05.

The figured showed that all social positions of fathers are gathered around dimension 1 that is indicating a close association of classical and folk music with fathers' social positions,

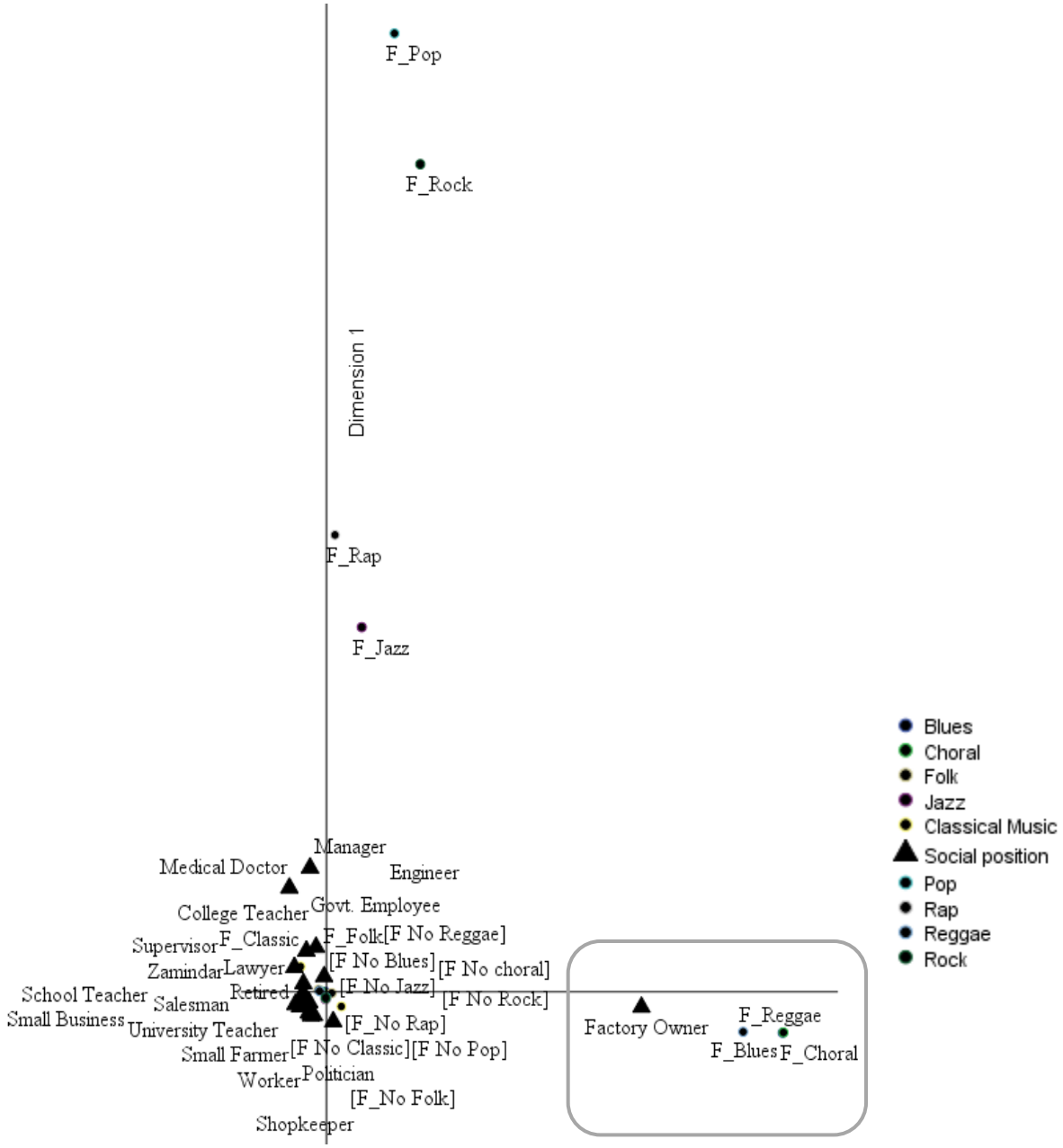

Figure 4.5b. Social positions and preference of music of fathers

whereas, on dimension 2, reggae, choral and blues are closer with factory owners. However, pop and rock music are possible outlier in the analysis.

Figure 4.5c is graphical representation of MCA that indicated the association of mothers' taste of music and social positions. The two-dimensional solution accounted for 40% of the variance in the data. The figure showed that almost all the data clustered on dimension 1 ($s^2 = 24.75$, $\alpha = 0.66$, eigenvalue = 2.48) which showed that almost all social positions of mothers like to listen folk and classical music.

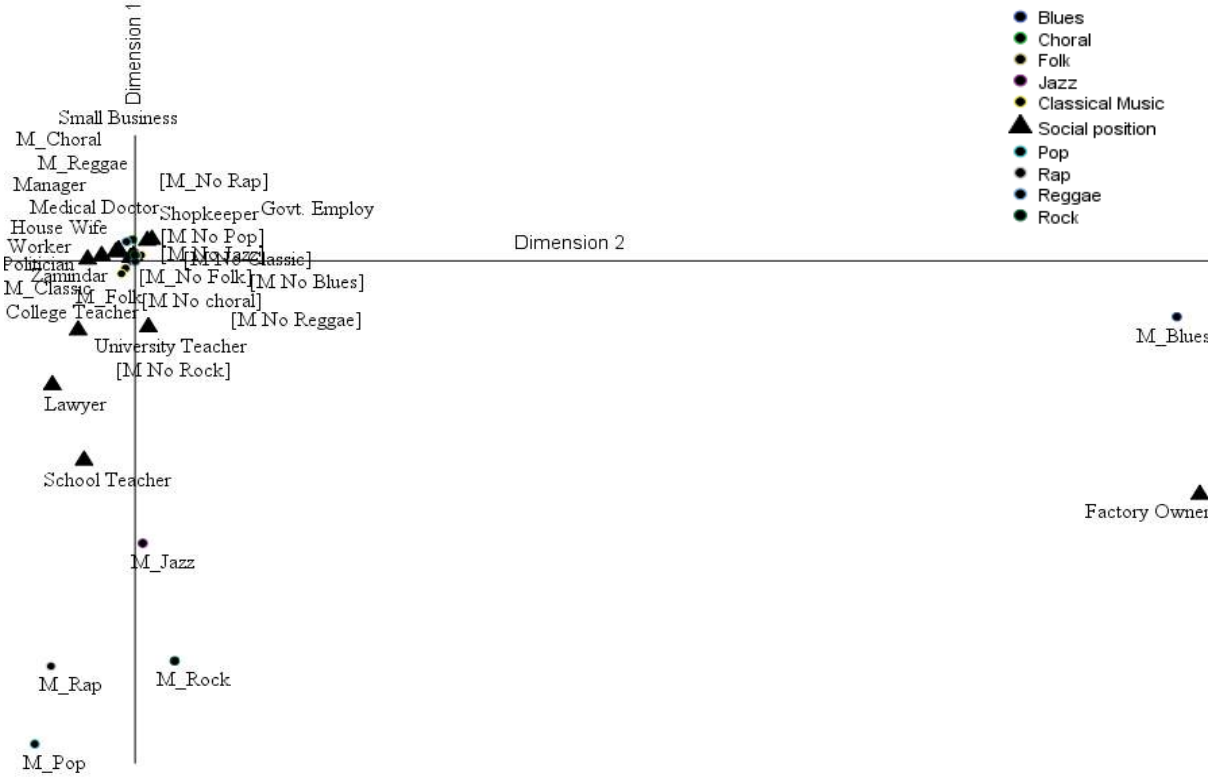

Figure 4.5c. Social positions and preference of music of mothers

However, reggae music is also closer to the social positions. On the same dimension, lawyers and school and college teachers are found closer to classical music than other social positions that indicated their taste of music. Moreover, factory owners are found on dimension 2 ($s^2 = 15.22$, $\alpha = 0.38$, eigenvalue = 1.52). They preferred blues music.

4.2.2.5 Objectified cultural capital and social position

Objectified cultural capital was measured by three indicators i.e. type of furniture, books and art pictures. The section showed dispersion of the forms of cultural capital across different social positions as well as stakeholders. The aim of this section is to identify the type of the objectified cultural capital associated with different social positions.

Figure 4.6 showed the graphical results of MCA which revealed the association of respondents' social positions with their objectified cultural capital. The two dimensions of the analysis accounted for 82% of the variance in the data. Dimension 1 explained 51% (eigenvalue = 2.036, $\alpha = 0.678$) and dimension 2 explained 31% of the variance in the data (eigenvalue = 1.236, $\alpha = 0.255$). The mean variance of the dimensions is 40.9% and the mean eigenvalue is 1.64.

Dimension 2 cuts the figure into two parts. The upper part of the figure showed that worker (94%), shopkeeper (86%), small farmer (88%), salesman (84%) and supervisor (70%) do not have books collection in their homes. Moreover, small businessmen (96%) are closer with "No art pictures" at home; however, 60% of them have simple furniture at homes.

On the contrary, the lower part of the figure revealed that university teachers and college teachers have branded furniture at their homes, whereas, some of the school teachers either have simple or branded furniture at their homes. Medical doctors (72%) have strong association with art pictures but university teachers (72%) and the doctors (72%) also have books collection in their homes. The figure also revealed that some of the zamindar (10%) have antique furniture, whereas, most of them (28%) also have modern fancy furniture in their homes. Some of the medical doctors (10%) also reported that they have artistic furniture in their homes. Lastly, 97% of the factory owners have artistic pictures and books collection in their homes. Moreover, 10% of them have antique, 25% have modern fancy, 12.5% have artistic and branded, whereas, 40% of them have simple furniture in their homes.

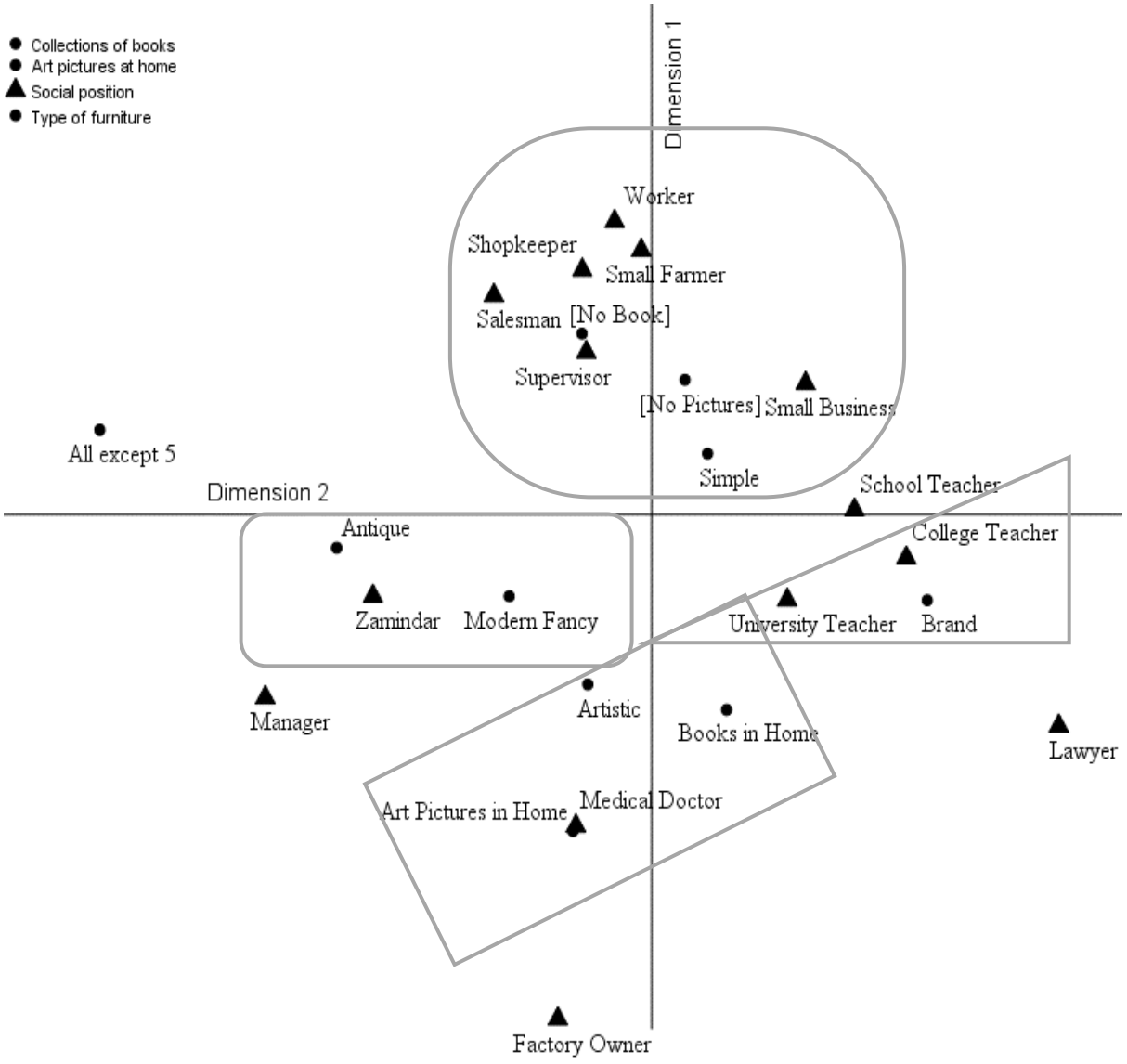

Figure 4.6 Social positions and objectified cultural capital of the respondents

4.2.2.6 Institutionalized cultural capital and social position

As the previous sub-sections identified and examined the associations between cultural capital and social positions, similarly this sub-section of cultural capital examined the most important measure of cultural capital i.e. institutionalized cultural capital, and social positions of the respondents and their parents. Instead of Multiple Correspondence analysis (MCA), the section showed the results of correspondence analysis (CA) because it incorporated two variables i.e. level of education and social position.

Figure 4.7a shows the graphical results of correspondence analysis (CA) of respondents' institutionalized cultural capital and social positions. The two-dimensional solution of CA showed that it explained 78.3% of the variance in the data ($\chi^2(104) = 405.679$, $p<.001$). The first dimension accounted for by 45.9% and second dimension accounted for by 32.3% of variance in the data.

The figure shows that institutionalized cultural capital is unequally distributed among social positions. The dimension 2 cuts the high and low cultural capital into two sections. The upper left quadrant of the graph is consisted of low institutionalized cultural capital, whereas, the lower left and right quadrants showed the high cultural capital. Moreover, the upper right quadrant consisted of 'graduation or equivalent' education which can also be considered as high institutionalized cultural capital. The graph shows that university and college teachers have highest institutionalized cultural capital, whereas, workers, shopkeepers and small businessmen have lowest capital. Moreover, the figure also shows that medical doctors, managers, schoolteachers, lawyers and factory owners are in the middle of the highest and lowest institutionalized cultural capital.

Figure 4.7b showed the association of fathers' institutionalized cultural capital and social positions. The two-dimensional CA accounted for 85.1% of the variance in the data ($\chi^2(160) = 750.303$, $p<.001$). Dimension 1 and 2 accounted for 48.9% and 36.2% of the variance in the data.

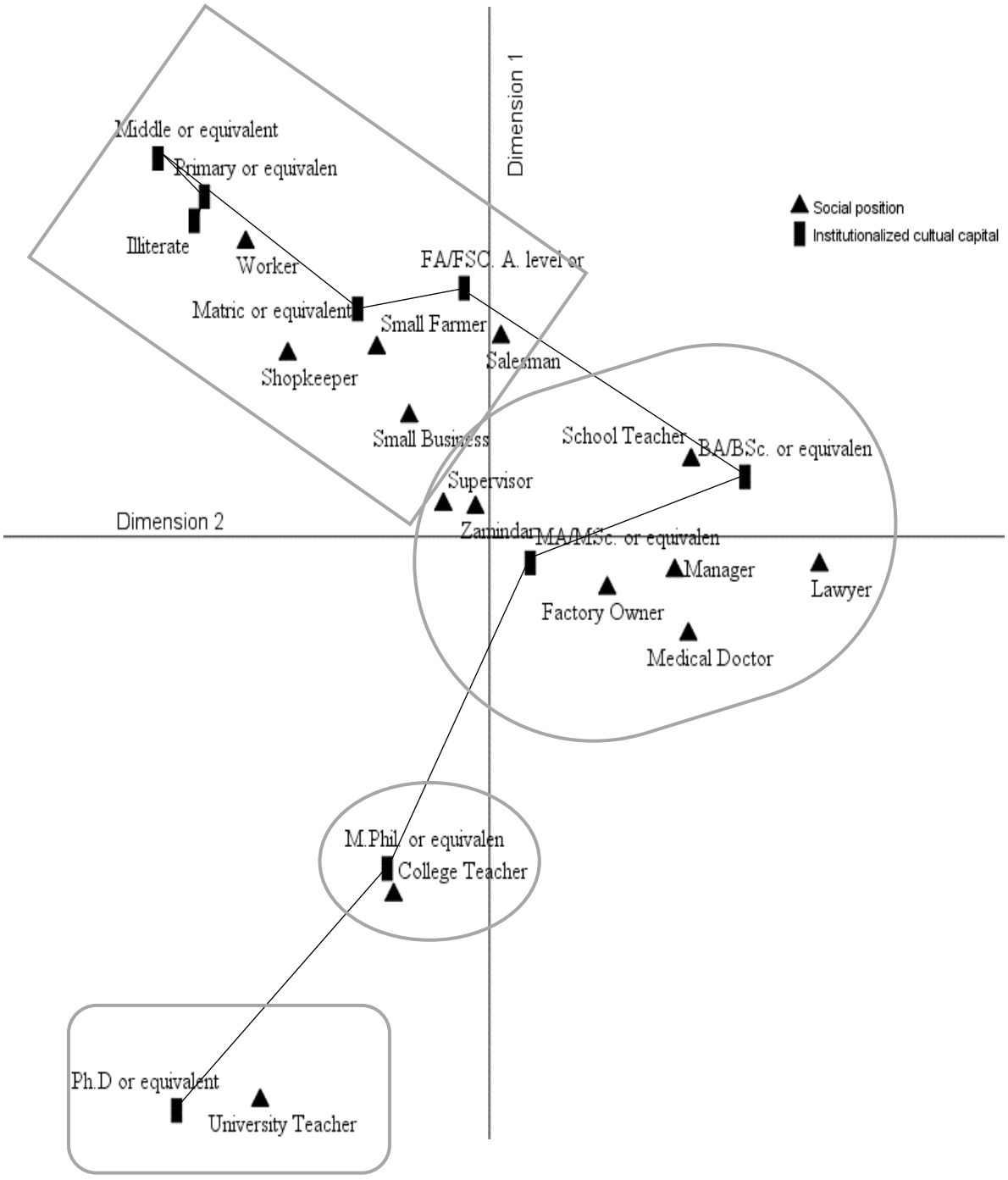

Figure 4.7a. Social positions and institutionalized cultural capital of the respondents

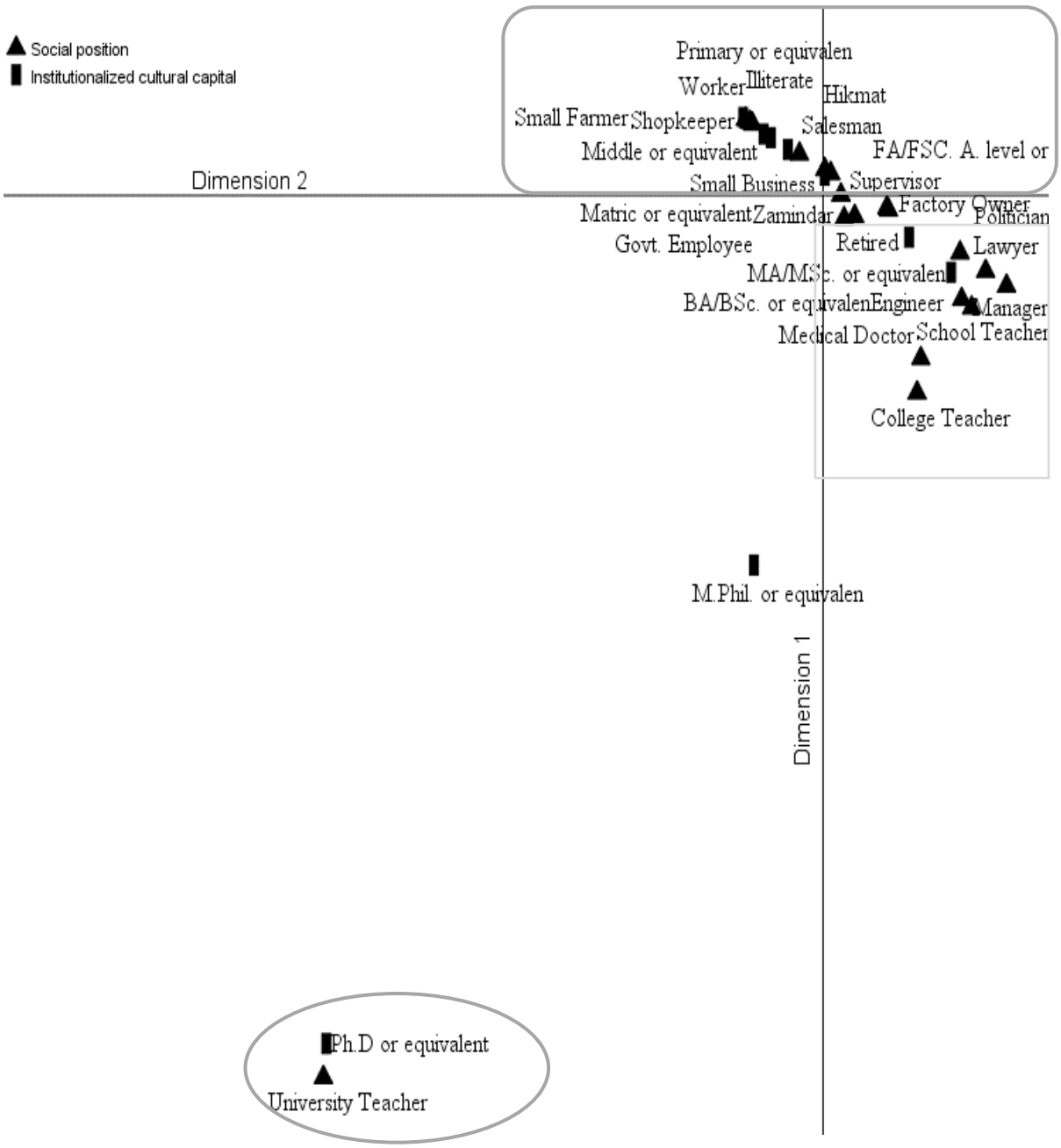

Figure 4.7b. Social positions and institutionalized cultural capital of fathers

The figure showed that dimension 2 divided the graph into two parts; the upper part of the graph is consisted of shopkeepers, workers, small farmers, salesmen and small businessmen who have lower cultural capital that ranged from illiterate to secondary level of education. The lower part of the graph showed high cultural capital specifically the lower left quadrant which is consisted of M. Phil. and PhD level education. Only university teachers are closer with highest institutionalized cultural capital. Moreover, medical doctors, engineers, managers, lawyers, school and college teachers are associated with either graduation or 'masters' category of education.

Figure 4.7c showed the results of two-dimensional CA which accounted for 88.1% of the variance in the data ($\chi^2(104) = 433.839$, $p<.001$). The dimension 1 and 2 accounted for by 51.9% and 36.2% of the variance in the data respectively.

The figure showed that most of the data is located on the dimension 2 that cuts the institutionalized cultural capital into two sections such as the lower section of the graph showed highest institutionalized cultural capital. University teachers and medical doctors are found closer to the capital. However, the upper quadrants of dimension 2 consisted of lower cultural capital. The social positions with low economic capital (as found in figures 4.1a, b and c) are located in these quadrants which indicated that workers and shopkeepers have low cultural and economic capital.

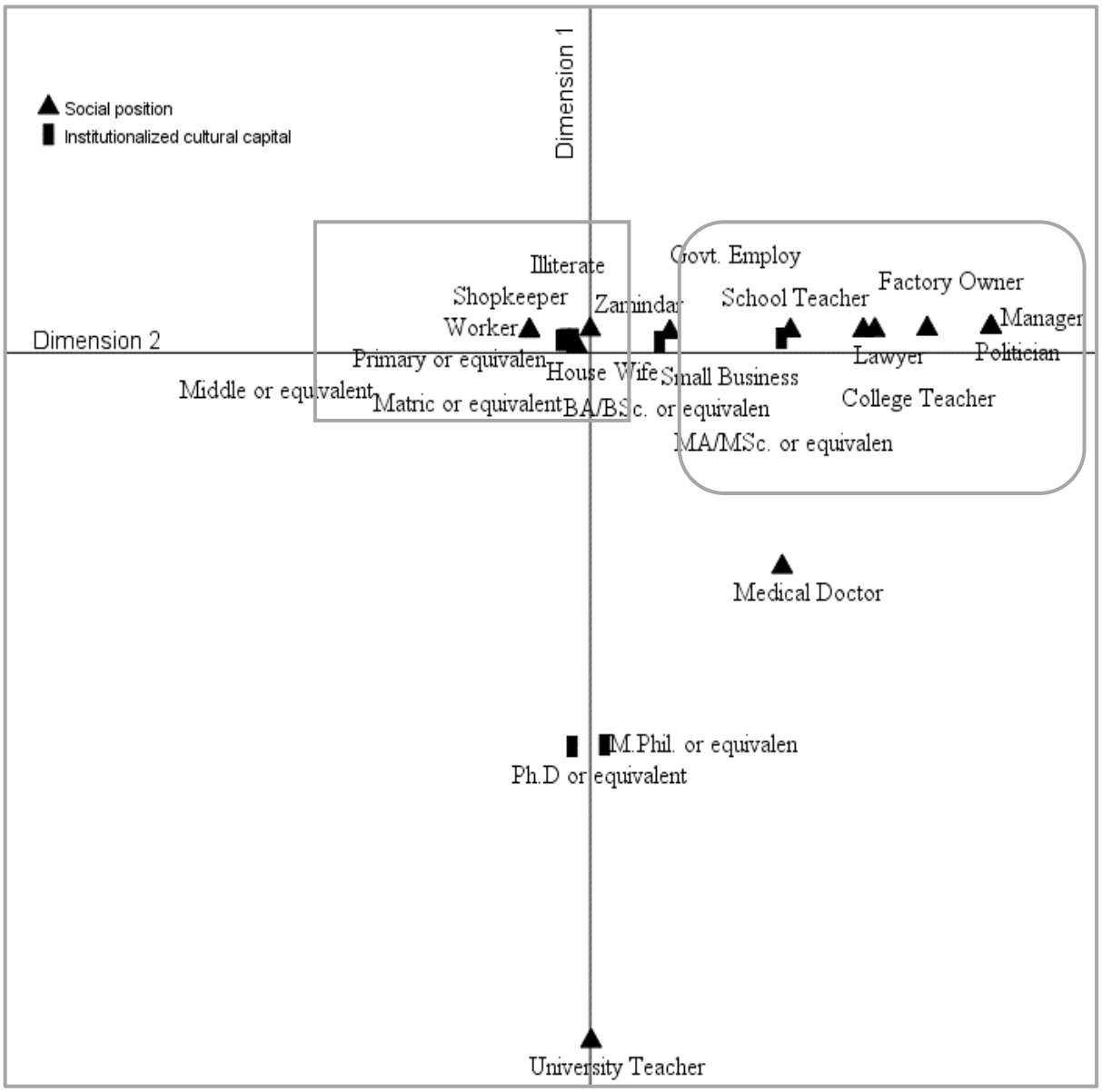

Figure 4.7c. Social positions and institutionalized cultural capital of mothers

4.2.3 Social Capital and Social Positions

This section of the chapter deals with social capital and social positions of the respondents and parents. Multiple correspondence analysis was used to explore the association of the capital across social positions.

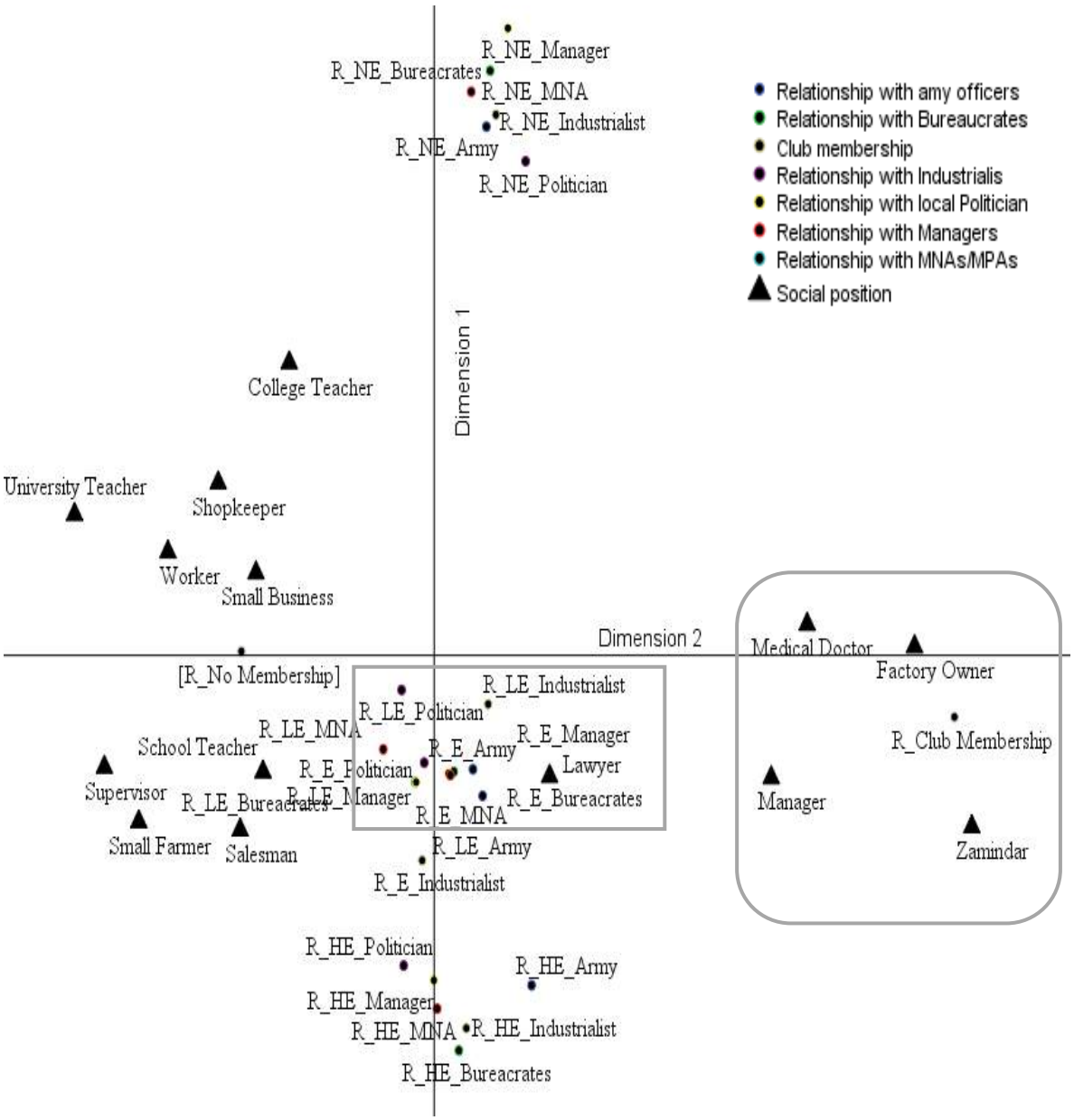

Figure 4.8a. Social positions and social capital of the respondents
Note: NE = no relationship; LE = Least Effective; E = Effective; HE = Highly Effective

Figure 4.8a showed the results of MCA of the respondents' social capital and social positions. The figure is divided in to four quadrants and two dimensions. The dimension 1 is accounted for 54.9% of the variance in the data with the eigenvalue of 4.394 and Cronbach's alpha of 0.883. Dimension 2 explained 49.3% of the variance in the data (eigenvalues = 3.944, $\alpha = 0.853$).

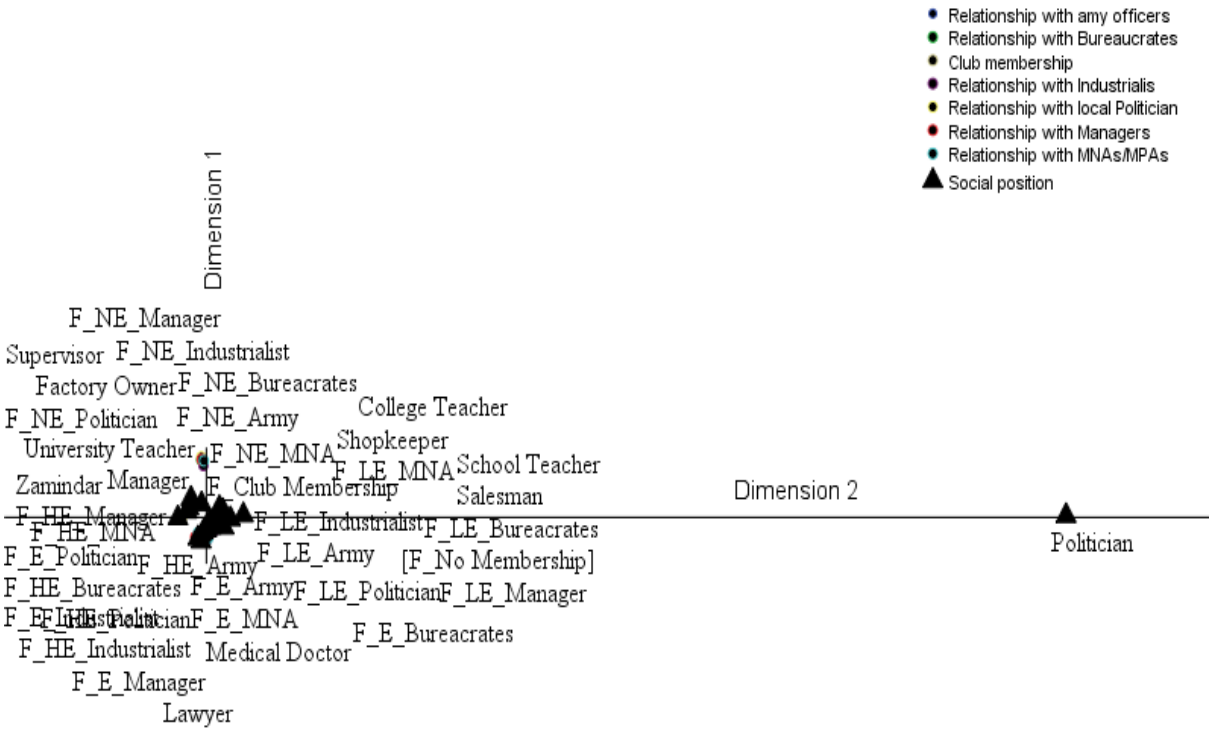

Figure 4.8b. Social positions and social capital of fathers
Note: NE = no relationship; LE = Least Effective; E = Effective; HE = Highly Effective

The figure showed that zamindar (68%), factory owners (97%), medical doctors (70%) and managers (50%) are associated with club membership, whereas, rest of the social positions are associated with no club membership. Although, lawyers, small businessmen, college teachers and salesmen are found closer to "No Club Membership" yet they have relationship with industrialists, bureaucrats, mangers, politicians and other authoritative persons. Lawyers have least effective relationship with industrialists and army officers but some of the lawyers (10%) also have highly effective relationship with these authorities. Small businessmen and school and college teachers have 'least effective relationship' with bureaucrats and managers. Furthermore, a cluster of categories on the upper left quadrant of the graph showed the

respondents who do not have any effective relationship at all with all of the authorities in South Punjab. However, the location of the social positions showed that they do not have club membership.

Table 4.8b showed association of fathers' social capital and social position. The inertia of two-dimensional MCA is 1.11. The dimension 1 and 2 have the inertia of 0.599 and 0.51 with the alpha values of 0.904 and 0.861 respectively (Eigenvalues = 4.792 and 4.1 respectively).

The results revealed that 50% engineers, 57% zamindar, 92% factory owners and 50% medical doctors and 52.4% managers have club membership, whereas, 22% supervisors, 21.4% shopkeepers and 30% factory owners have highly effective relationship with MNAs. Interestingly, only supervisors have highest percentage (44.4%) of highly effective relation with local politician. Moreover, medical doctors also have highly effective relationship with local politician, but they are also closer to effective relationship with managers, army officials, bureaucrats and industrialists. Fathers with social positions of shopkeeper, small farmer, retired, worker and small businessman have no club membership and have least effective relationship with local politicians. University teachers are found closer to the cluster of "Not effective at all" relationship with bureaucrats, managers, army officers, industrialists and MNAs/MPAs.

Figure 4.8c showed the graphical results of MCA on mothers' social capital and social positions. Dimension 1 and 2 accounted for 60% (eigenvalues = 4.824, $\alpha = 0.91$) and 55% (eigenvalues = 4.4, $\alpha = 0.88$) respectively of the variance in the data. The results of the analysis revealed that majority of the data clustered on the intersection of the dimensions. However, the tabulated data showed that all managers and factory owners have club membership. Moreover, 47.1% zamindar, 85.7 % university teacher, 55.7% medical doctors and 21% housewives are members of a club. The data also revealed that majority of the mothers do not have relationship with any of the authoritative person. However, some of the small businesswomen (33.3%) have highly effective relationship with army officers and MNAs/MPAs.

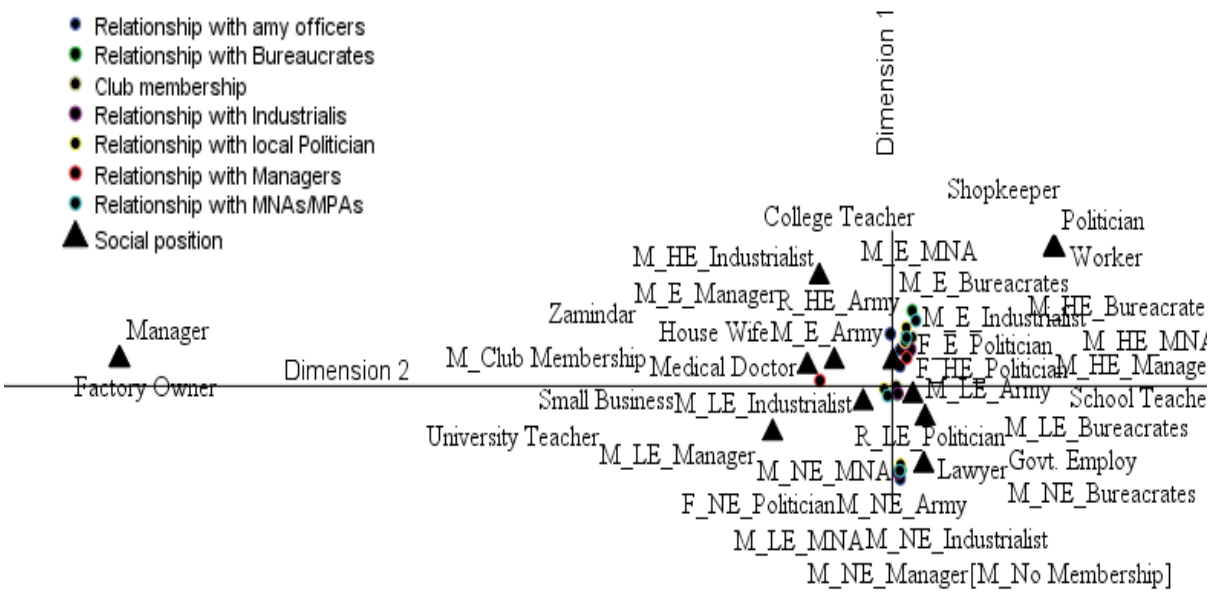

Figure 4.8c. Social positions and social capital of mothers
Note: NE = no relationship; LE = Least Effective; E = Effective; HE = Highly Effective

4.2.4 Habitus and social positions

Figure 4.9 showed the association of measures of habitus with social positions of the respondents. The two-dimensional MCA revealed that dimension 1 accounted for 46% of the variance in the data. The eigenvalue and Cronbach's alpha of the dimension is 2.75 and 0.763. Dimension 2 explained 41% of the variance in the data (eigenvalue = 2.464, $\alpha = 0.713$). The mean variance is 43.43% and the mean eigenvalues is 2.61.

The figure showed that either of the dimensions did not cut the social positions with high economic capital into two portions rather factory owners are in opposite quadrant of medical doctors, university teachers and zamindar. Only two social positions are found closely related with two different measures of habitus. Some of the lawyers (46%), supervisors (40%), college teachers (42%) and medical doctors (44%) have economic aspirations as they were of the view that they want to increase their economic status. However, most of the salesmen (64%) and workers (56%) have educational aspirations as they were of the view that acquisition of prestigious education is essential for them (or for their children). Similarly, 40% (each) shopkeepers, college teachers and supervisors also have the same educational aspiration.

The figure also showed that factory owners highly value retention of upper class culture and aspiration of political authority. Moreover, the graph did not show explicit association of rest of the social positions with any other measure of habitus.

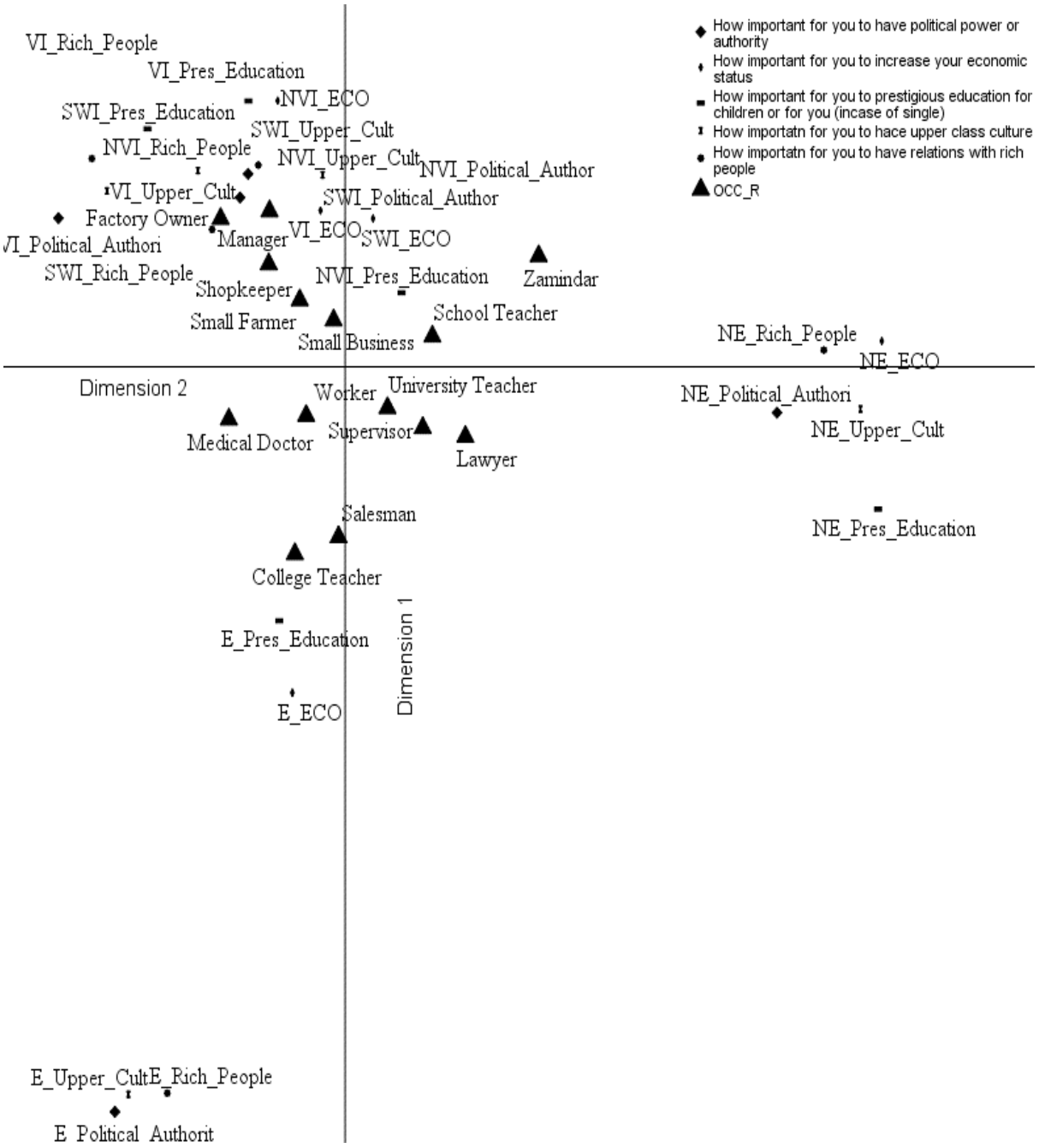

Figure 4.9 Social positions and habitus of the respondents
Note: E = essential, VI = very important, SWI = somewhat important, NVI = not very important, NE = not important at all.

4.3 Social space of positions and lifestyle

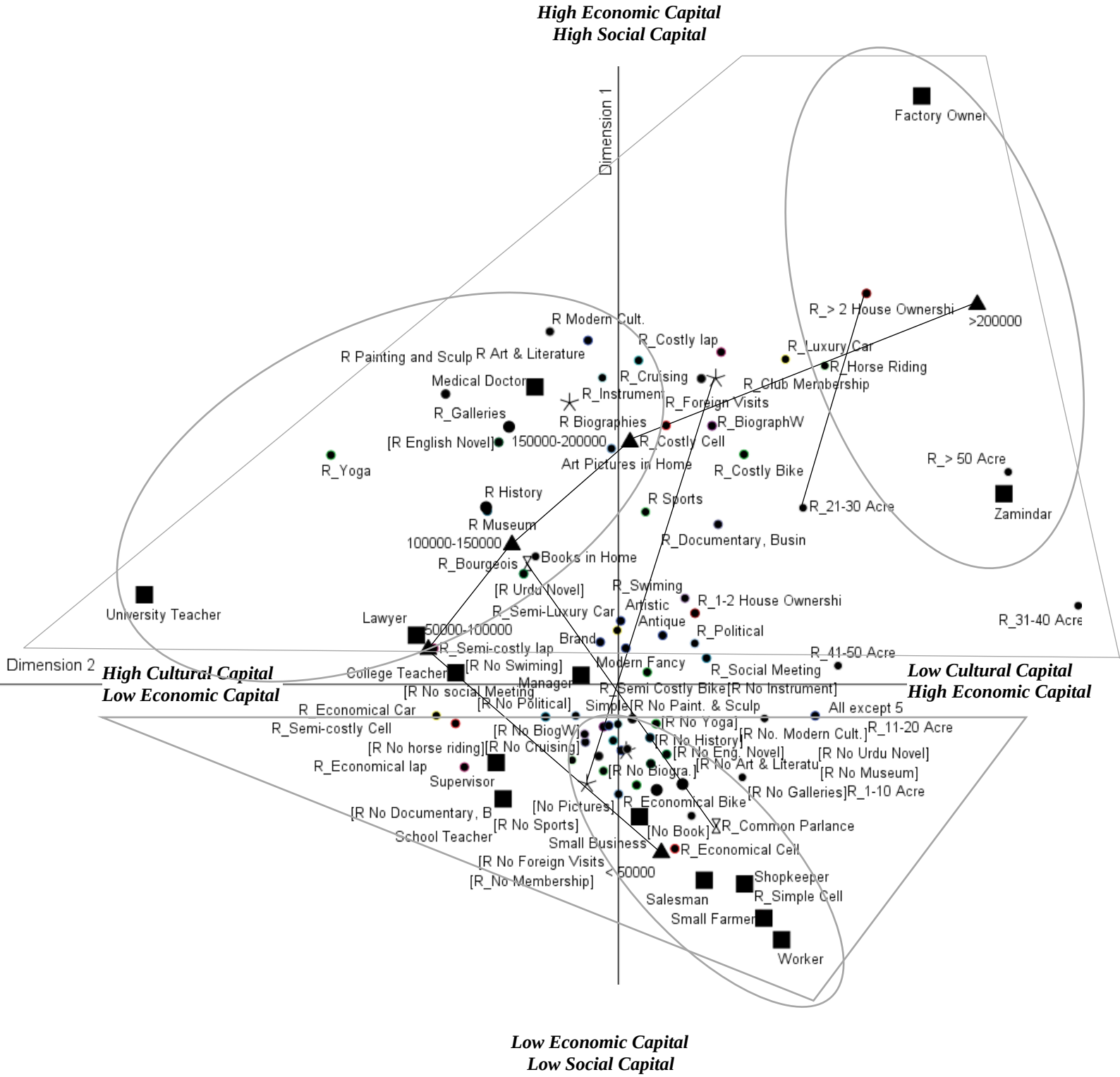

Figure 4.10a. Structure of Social Space of Positions and lifestyle of the respondents

Note: Eigenvalues of D1 and D2 are 9.613 and 3.799 respectively, α of D1 and D2 are 0.924 and 0.760 respectively, Inertia of D1 and D2 are 0.291 and 0.115 respectively. Two dimensions accounted for by 40.6% of the variance in the data.

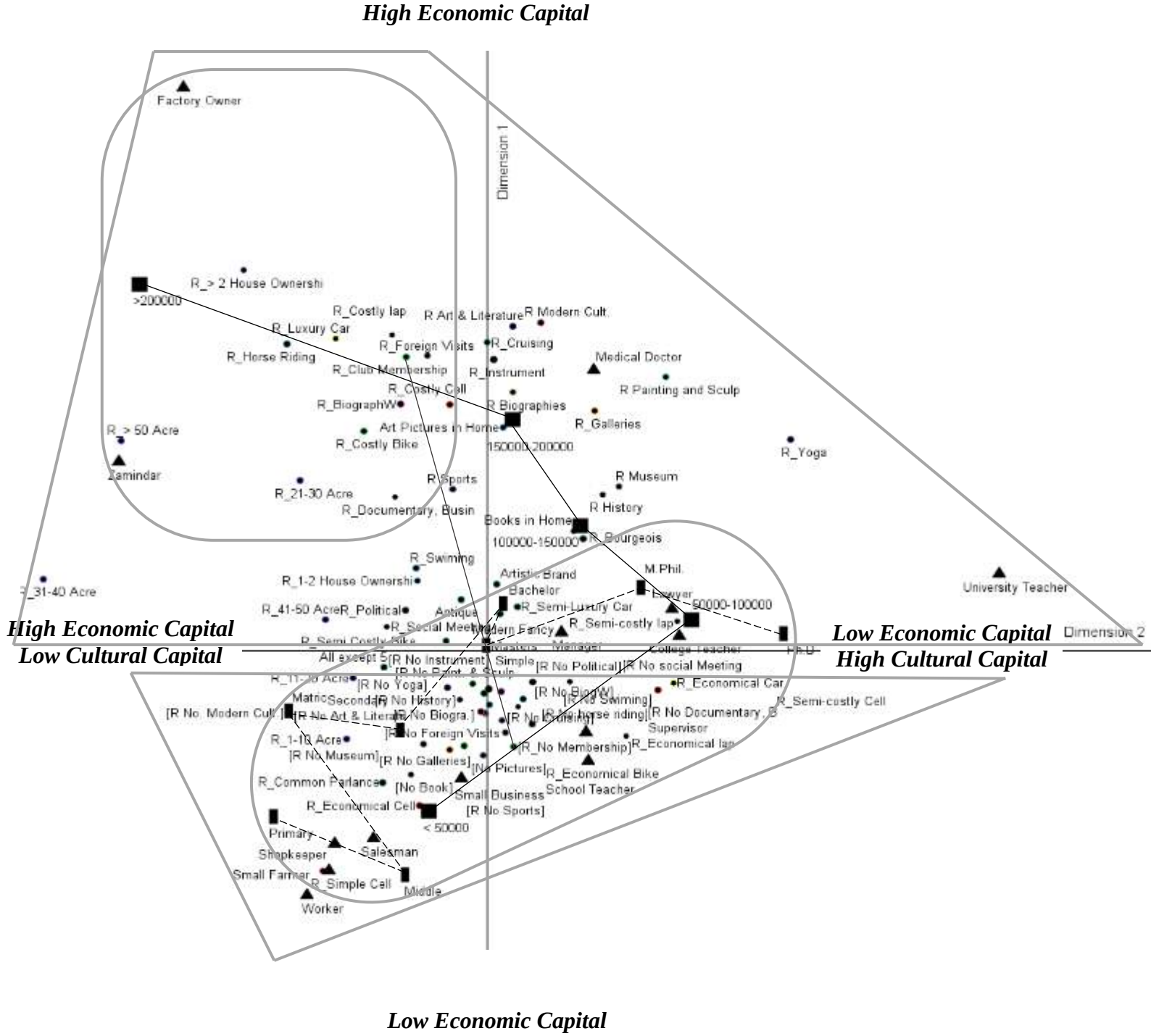

Figure 4.10b. Structure of Social Space of Positions of the respondents. Institutionalized Cultural Capital is included.

Note: Eigenvalues of D1 and D2 are 9.312 and 3.845 respectively, α of D1 and D2 are 0.921 and 0.764 respectively, Inertia of D1 and D2 are 0.291 and 0.120 respectively. Two dimensions accounted for by 41.1% of the variance in the data.

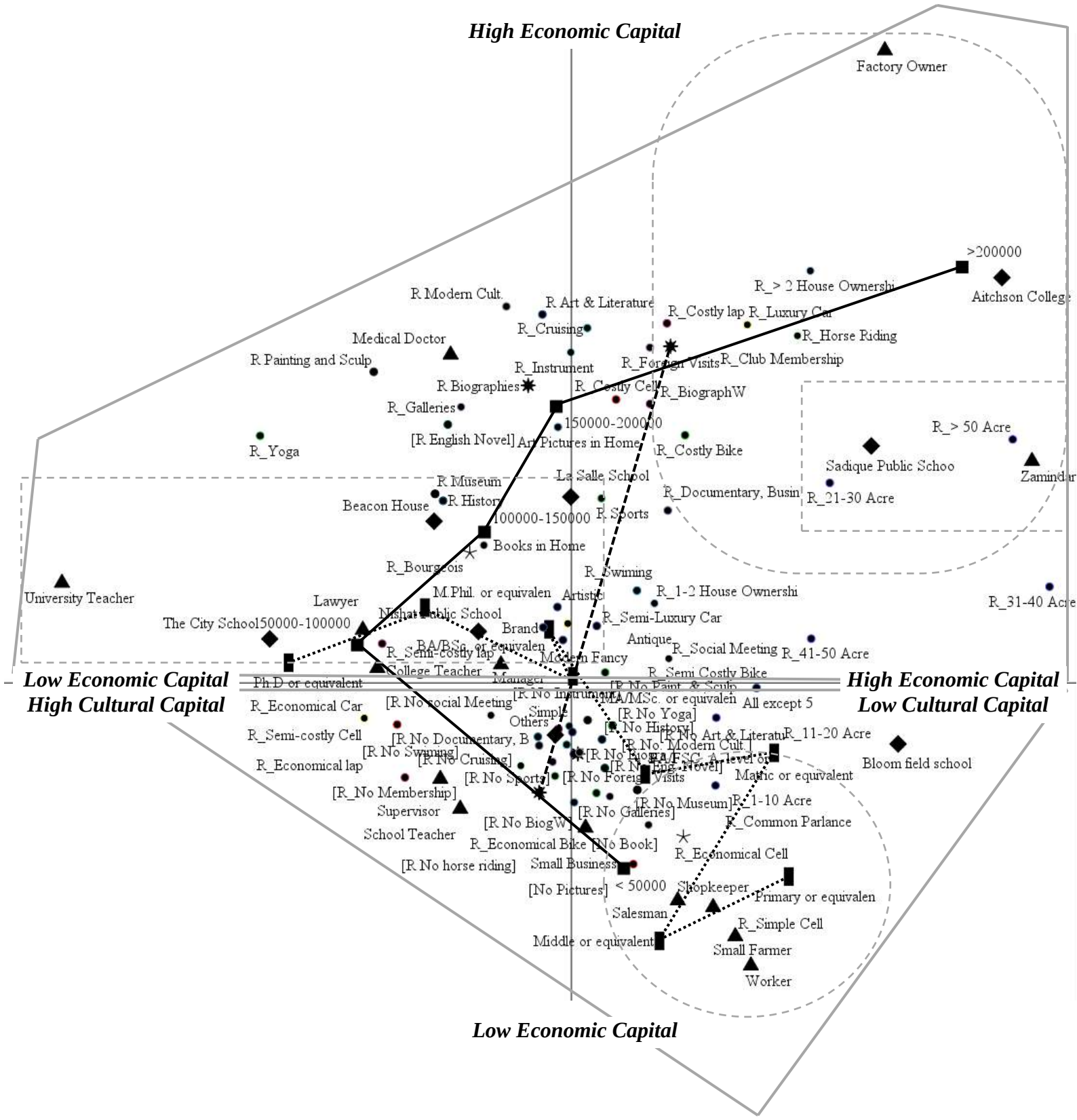

Figure 4.10c. Structure of Social Space of Positions of the respondents. Type of educational institution is included. *Note*: Eigenvalues of D1 and D2 are 9.71 and 3.933 respectively, α of D1 and D2 are 0.925 and 0.77 respectively, Inertia of D1 and D2 are 0.294 and 0.12 respectively. Two dimensions accounted for by 41.3% of the variance in the data.

Figure 4.10d. Structure of social space of positions constructed through fathers' data.

Note: eigenvalues of D1 and D2 are 9.284 and 3.147respectively, α of D1 and D2 are 0.927and 0.709 respectively, Inertia of D1 and D2 are 0.344 and 0.117 respectively. Two dimensions accounted for by 46% of the variance in the data.

The space of Southern Punjab showed almost all major, vital and imperative concepts of the theory of social reproduction and economy of practices. It incorporated volume, composition and trajectory of capitals, conditions of existence – so does the taste as Bourdieu said that taste develops with the distance from necessity. It revealed chiastic structure of social space of positions, homology of practices, class fractions, their location and the class itself. However, the space is not "…the crystal ball of alchemist" in which everything can be seen at once (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 126).

The social space of positions is the summery of social structure, conditions of existence, preponderance and consumptions of capitals etc. Bourdieu (1984) constructed the space in order to present his theory of economy of practices –in fact, he inserted the space figure in the chapter: *economy of practices* – against the theorists e.g. structuralists, who divided society into sharp "sidedness" –extreme divide of social aspects. However, the society comprised fabric of relations where a sharp division or sidedness cannot effectively represent the gist of social fabrication. Therefore, it must be built upon "relational logic", whereby, the nature of relationship among material and non-material capitals and social positions can be constructed on multi-dimensional space which will also reveal lifestyle or life chances. Concisely, the relational logic through multidimensional space negates the linear logic of social sciences particularly sociology. Statistically, multiple correspondence analysis is not designed for hypothesis testing rather to detect correspondence, relationship or, as Bourdieu thinks of it, social structure of positions and homology of practices. Thus, CA and MCA are most suitable statistical tools to construct social space of positions on multidimensional space.

Initially, Figure 4.10c (which included institutionalized cultural capital and type of educational institute) shows that the social space of positions is divided into four quadrants and two dimensions. The first quadrant at upper left side of the figure showed the relationship of social positions e.g., factory owners, with high economic and, relatively, low (institutionalized) cultural capital. The second quadrant of the space at upper right side showed the relationship of social positions e.g., university teachers with high (institutionalized) cultural capital but, relatively, low economic capital. The third quadrant at lower right of the figure showed the relationship of social positions e.g., workers, with low cultural and, relatively, low economic capital. Lastly, the fourth quadrant of the figure at lower left showed the relationship of social positions e.g., schoolteachers, with high cultural but relatively low economic capital. Moreover figure 4.10a and b also showed chiastic structure of the space.

The space shows the conditions of existence associated with each group. In other words, the distribution of economic capital as well as other capitals depict what is materially possible and impossible for a group. The upper portion of the figure showed that access to higher education may not be possible for workers, salesmen, shopkeepers and small farmers due to the material conditions they are living in. They are earning less than 50000 PKR monthly and have primary or middle education. Moreover, their economic condition revealed that they cannot afford highbrow cultural capital. Thus, they have poor lifestyle.

On the one hand, the space reveals the lifestyle of groups such as activities and material possessions associated with each social position in the space, and on the other hand, it shows the homology of practices of agents with similar conditions of existence. The distribution of the objectified cultural capital and other forms of capitals show lifestyle associated with each social position such as workers, small farmers and shopkeepers have simple mobile phones, they do not own house and have no club membership. Moreover, their income (<50000) also shows their conditions of existence and lifestyle (see figure 4.10b and c). On the other hand, factory owners and zamindar have luxury cars, costly mobile phones, owns house (mostly >1) and large amount of land as well. Their cultural activities such as horse riding, cruising and foreign visits are beyond economic capacity of social positions located in the upper portion of the figure.

The homology of practice can be viewed in both figures 4.10a, b and c. Moreover, figure 4.2a exclusively dealt with cultural activities. However, the homology thesis is not confined to activities only rather it can also be extended to the viewing and reading habits, linguistic competence, preference of music etc. (see figure 4.4a, 4.5a and 4.6) and relationship with other people (see section 4.2.3). The analysis showed that social positions with similar conditions of existence have similar practices such as their cultural activities are consisted of visiting galleries and museums. Further, they also visit foreign countries, value art and literature and other highbrow cultural activities such as club membership and bourgeois parlance. However, on the contrary, social positions with low economic capital cannot afford such highbrow activities, therefore, they possessed lower institutionalized cultural capital which resulted in common parlance and confinement to achieve necessities of life. Thus, social positions with high economic capital have distance from necessities that highly contribute in the development of taste.

Considering the overall results of the space, it can be ascertained that conditions of existence, homology of practices, distance from necessities and development of taste are associated with each other, logically and empirically. However, the existence of these concepts in the social space depends upon the distribution of capitals. The distribution of capitals in the space cannot be studied with high and low dichotomy only because, on the one hand, it violates the epistemological assumption of multidimensional space and, on the other hand, follows structuralist terrain of sharp division. Therefore, the space is based upon volume, composition and trajectory of capitals.

The space also shows the structure of social positions in relation with the dynamism of capitals such as the chiastic structure of the space, whereby, the social space is based upon the inverse principle of economic and cultural capital. The inverse principle refers to the unequal distribution of capitals. In other words, the increase in the economic capital of a group is conditioned with the decrease of cultural capital. The structure, therefore, divides into four quadrants and two portions with different combinations of capitals at disposal of each group located in the space. Bourdieu (1984) called this different combination of capitals, *composition of capital*. Moreover, the space also incorporates *volume* and *trajectory* of capitals that provide theoretical base for the space to be constructed on three dimensions.

The composition of the capital in the space showed that social positions with relatively high economic capital e.g. factory owner and zamindar, have lower institutionalized cultural capital (lower left quadrant), whereas, on the contrary, social positions with relatively high cultural capital e.g. university teacher, possess low economic capital (lower right quadrant). This can also be viewed through the behavior of institutionalized cultural capital and income in the space. The monthly income of the respondents is increasing in the opposite direction of education (see figure 4.10b and c).

The left quadrant of the space displayed factory owners and zamindar with highest volume of economic capital. The quadrant exposed that factory owners earn >200000 PKR per month and own >2 houses. However, zamindar are associated with >50-acre land. Moreover, luxury cars, costly laptops and other indicators of high economic capital are also associated with factory owner and zamindar. On the other hand, the space also showed that university teachers and lawyers are associated with high-institutionalized cultural capital but relatively low economic capital.

The lower right quadrant of the space showed that university teachers are associated with PhD, whereas, lawyers and college teachers are associated with M.Phil. Moreover, they earn 50000-100000 PKR per month. However, these social positions are not associated with high volume of economic capital. Such combinations of capitals revealed chiastic structure of the space, whereby, the cultural and economic capital are inversely related. Thus, the space exposed the chiastic structure of Southern Punjab as hypothesized in the first chapter using narrowed measurement of economic and cultural capital (see figure 1.3 and 1.4).

Owing to the chiastic structure of the space, the other associated concepts can also be seen in the space such as homology of practice or conditions of existence. The space showed that factory owners and zamindar have similar cultural practices, economic conditions and taste. They have luxury cars, costly laptops and mobile phones; they like horse-riding, visit to foreign countries and cruising (see also figure 4.1a to 4.6). The figure also showed that the conditions they found themselves in are the conditions their parents have. Therefore, high economic capital of their parents keeps them at distance from necessities (see figure 4.10d), whereby, they developed taste as Bourdieu (1984) asserted that taste develops with the distance from necessity. Their luxury cars, preference of reggae music, visits of foreign countries, uncommon food habits, etc. showed their taste and distance from the necessity. However, on the contrary, the conditions of existence small farmers, salesmen and workers found themselves in, produce their life chances; therefore, they are less likely to develop taste. Unlike distance from necessity, closeness of practices with social positions located in the upper and lower sections of the space also revealed their homology of practices that the researcher of the study has described through conditions of existence, development of taste and distance from necessity.

Lastly, other than the institutionalized cultural capital, type of educational institution is also included in figure 4.10c. The figure showed that elite institutions e.g. Aitchison College, is associated with highest income per month which revealed that majority of the factory owners and zamindar have studied from the institution. Further, Zamindar are also associated with Sadiq Public School (see appendix 4, page 438, and chapter 3, section 3.1.1.2). The figure also showed that teachers and lawyers are associated with Nishat Public School and The City School. Consequently, elite and semi-elite (e.g. Nishat Public School) are located in upper portion of the figure, whereas, the “Others” institutions are located in the lower portion of the figure. The other schools comprised those which cannot be labelled as elite or semi elite schools

such as government Aam Khas Bagh school, Multan, government high school, Rajanpur etc. However, bloomfield is also located in the lower right quadrant of the figure where dominant class fractions are located but frequencies showed that only one schoolteacher and one zamindar studied from the school.

4.4 Class identification

Several studies used occupation as identical to class or to form class by combining some occupational groups. Such strategies are famous in Marxian framework due to Parkin's (1971, p. 18) contention of occupational status as major indication of class location and Wright and Perrone (1977) framework of class identification. Although, class identification through occupational status is reasonable but it did not gain popularity in Bourdieusian framework because occupation has been associated with economic returns only or it signifies economic status of a person indirectly. However, Bourdieu's geometrical modeling revealed cultural and economic dimensions associated with occupation. Therefore, various researchers suggested different statistical techniques in order to develop classes or groups with similar conditions of existence in Bourdieusian framework.

Martin (2009) suggested latent cluster analysis because it satisfies Bourdieu's multidimensional postulate and facilitation of other cultural and economic attributes. Coulangeon and Lemel (2009) used K-means analysis for grouping individual on cultural dimension, whereas, Veenstra (2009) applied categorical principle component analysis (CATPCA) by arguing that Bourdieu's theory emphasizes on relational thinking, not causal, which CATPCA satisfies. Table 4.17 comprised various methods of class construction.

Although, these procedures are plausible for class construction in general research process or specifically in Marxian or Weberian schemes but Bourdieusian perspective suggests considering the role of other capitals as well in order to identify one's class position within the social space of positions. Therefore, this study included cultural and social capital in relation with economic capital to identify respondents' class positions.

In order to identify classes of the respondents, researcher used Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) (see figure 4.10a, b, c and 4.11). The method satisfies the multidimensional assumption of Bourdieusian perspective, incorporates relational logic and fulfills other theoretical ingredients that must be taken into account when an analysis comes to class such as homology of practices, distance from necessity, class habitus, taste and conditions

of existence. Therefore, the current study identified classes of the respondents through construction of social space of positions.

Table 4.17

Indicators used for class construction in previous studies

Author	Subject	Measurement	Data	Area
Robinson and Garnier (1985)	Employed	Wright's Scheme	French Census Bureau	France
Nakhaie (1996)	Citizens	Occupational Groups	Mobility Survey	Canada
Katsillis and Rubinson (1990)	Students	Wright's Scheme	First Hand	Greece
Jonsson (1993)	Adults	Goldthorpe Scheme	Swedish level of living	Sweden
Durr-e-Nayab (2011)	Household	Income, occupation, education, house and lifestyle	Pakistan social and living Measurement survey	Pakistan
Grossman (2013)	Household	Income	The Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey	America
Lizardo (2015)	Citizen	Income and Education	Center for research on social reality (1999-95)	Spain
Gracia (2015)	Parents and children	Occupational groups	UK time use survey (2000)	UK

In the space, social positions associated with high economic, cultural and social capital were labeled as dominant class, whereas, rest of the social positions were included in the dominated class. Instead of gradational scheme, researcher used dichotomous scheme of class because Bourdieu (1984) used the same label for classes when described social space of positions. The dominant class comprised factory owners, zamindar, university teachers, lawyers, managers and medical doctors, whereas, rest of the social positions were labeled

dominated class. The social positions in the dominant class are found in the upper portion of dimension 2 of figure 4.10b and c, whereas, social positions in dominated class are found in lower portion of dimension 2. Moreover, although institutionalized cultural capital is excluded

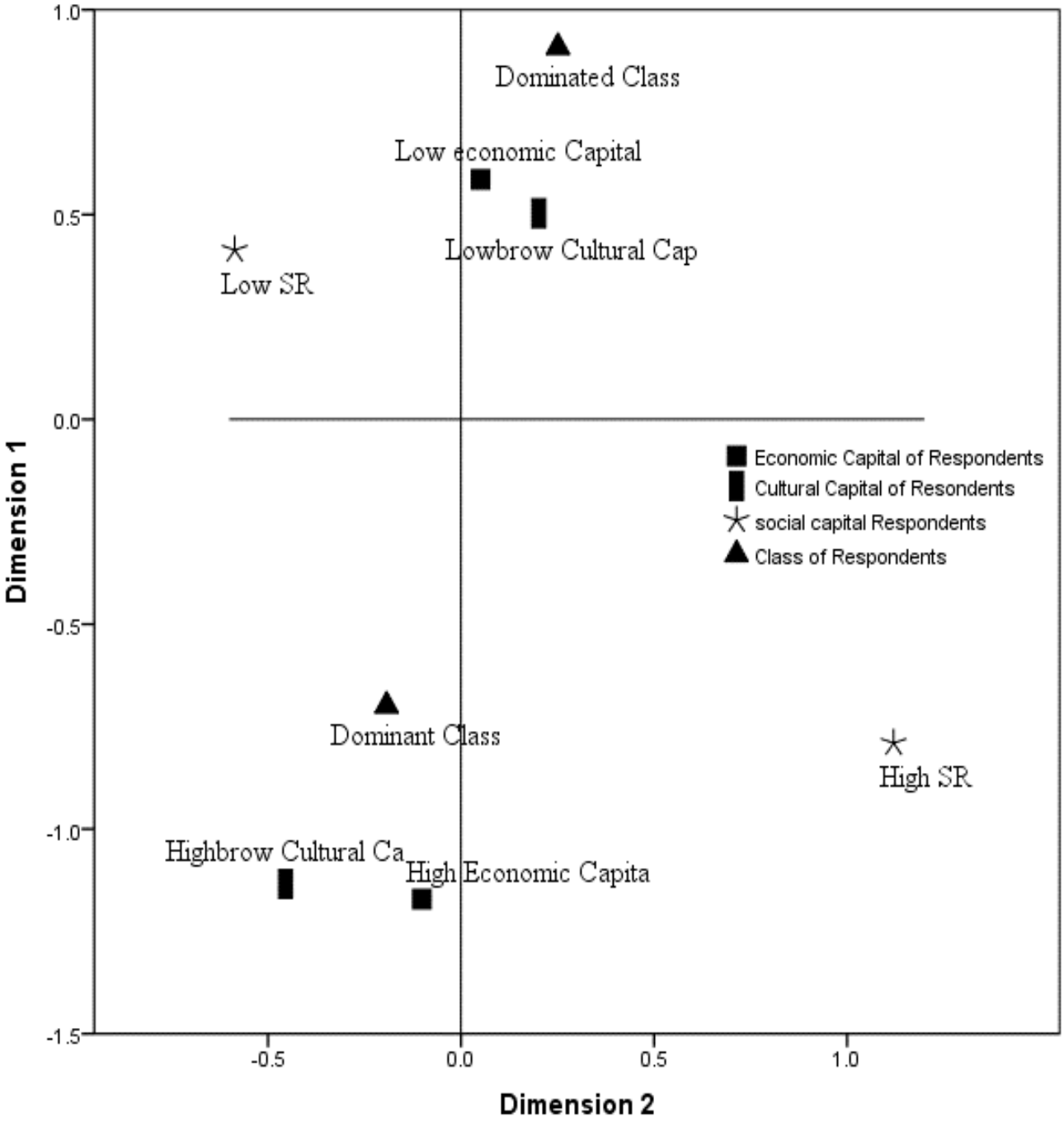

Figure 4.11 The Space of class and capitals of the respondents (composite).

Note: Inertia, eigenvalue and alpha of D1 are 0.555, 2.218 and 0.732 respectively; and of D2 are 0.200, 0.802 and -.330 respectively.

from the analysis as several studies did in the operationalization of the capital (see chapter 3, section 3.2) yet these six social positions were found in dominant class (see figure 4.10).

The positions included in the dominant class are dominant either economically or culturally. Although, the volume of cultural or economic capital is relatively lower of social positions in dominant class yet the volume of the capitals is cumulatively higher than the social positions located in dominated class. Therefore, considering the volume and composition of the capitals, social positions are included in dominant and dominated class.

Furthermore, same method was used to identify class of father. Researcher also constructed social space of positions that incorporated cultural, economic and social resources of fathers. Figure 4.11d showed graphical results of multiple correspondence analysis. Figure revealed that social positions i.e. factory owners, zamindar, medical doctors, engineers, managers, lawyers, politicians and university teachers are found associated with either high cultural or economic capital, whereas, rest of the social positions were close to lower cultural and economic capital. Therefore, these social positions of fathers were included in dominant class, whereas, rest of the social positions of fathers were labeled dominated class.

4.5 Log linear models and assessment

Table 4.18 is consisted of log linear models evaluated by education, family and gender, defined in previous chapter (see chapter 2, section 2.14). The table showed the model selection process on each level of parameters inclusion during the analysis. Initially the model is evaluated through total sample size. First, the main effect model (M_1) was constructed. The model selection criteria i.e. likelihood ratio (G^2), chi-square (χ^2), Akaike Information Criteria (AIC) and Bayesian Information Criteria (BIC) showed that the model did not fit the data. Then, higher order interaction terms were included in the model until the defined model was approached.

The table showed that M_4 fitted the data. M_4 is homogeneous association model of log linear association. The model selection criteria showed that M_4 is the best simplest model comparing with other models. Although, AIC of the model (AIC = 3.9) is higher than M_6 (AIC = 2.7) yet BIC of M_4 (BIC = –68.695) is lowest comparing with all other models. BIC measures the fit of a model, independent to the sample size. Saturated models have a BIC of 0, and the more negative the value, the better the model (Raftery, 1986, Kalmijn, 1994). However, AIC does not incorporate sample size in the equation. Therefore, M_4 is the most parsimonious model (χ^2 (16) = 35.552, p>.05, G^2 = 35.892, AIC = 3.9, BIC = –68.695) which, simultaneously, shows the fit of the data and satisfies the parsimony principle of methodology of modeling and log linear modeling, that is to say, to select the model with as much less parameters as possible.

Researcher proposed that intact family system could facilitate reproduction better than non-intact family system in previous chapter. Therefore, he constructed models across family system. The statistical significance of M_4 of intact family system showed that the model fitted the data (χ^2 (16) = 39.275, p>.05). Similarly, the other fit indexes i.e. G^2 = 33.486, AIC = 1.486, BIC = –67.789, also revealed the better fit of the model.

Contrary to intact family system, M_3 appeared to be the most parsimonious model in non-intact family system. This is due to the sample size effect in BIC equation because AIC of M_4 (–20.19) reveals that the model is best fitted the data (χ^2 (16) = 10.16, G^2 = 11.81). Similarly, M_3 of elite education (χ^2 (19) = 24.658, G^2 = 22.67, AIC = –15.334, BIC = –70.534) and female (χ^2 (19) = 49.824, G^2 = 17.573, AIC = –20.427, BIC = –74.763) was also fitted the data due to the smaller sample size. Therefore, he ran both models (M_3 and M_4) in

Table 4.18

Log linear model selection criteria

Label	Models	G^2	χ^2	df	AIC	BIC	p (G^2)	p (χ^2)
1. All Data (N = 690)								
M_1	$\mu_{ijzmh} = \lambda + \lambda_i^{DF} + \lambda_j^{DR} + \lambda_z^{EC} + \lambda_m^{CC} + +\lambda_h^{SC}$	952.201	1765.894	26	900.201	782.247	<.001	<.001
M_2	$M_1 + \lambda_{ij}^{DF.DR} + \lambda_{iz}^{DF.EC} + \lambda_{im}^{DF.CC} + +\lambda_{ih}^{DF.SC}$	242.324	353.806	22	198.324	98.51678	<.001	<.001
M_3	$M_2 + \lambda_{jz}^{DR.EC} + \lambda_{jm}^{DR.CC} + \lambda_{jh}^{DR.SC}$	77.105	128.894	19	39.105	-47.0921	<.001	<.001
M_4	$M_3 + \lambda_{jz}^{EC.CC} + \lambda_{jm}^{EC.SC} + \lambda_{jh}^{CC.SC}$	35.892	35.552	16	3.892	-68.6951	0.003	0.003
M_5	$M_3 + \lambda_{zmh}^{EC.CC.SC}$	34.135	33.953	15	4.135	-63.9154	0.003	0.003
M_6	$M_5 + \lambda_{ijm}^{DF.DR.CC}$	30.675	30.244	14	2.675	-60.8387	0.006	0.007
M_7	$M_5 + \lambda_{ijz}^{DF.DR.EC}$	33.333	33.133	14	5.333	-58.1807	0.003	0.003
M_8	$M_5 + \lambda_i^{DF.DR.SC}$	31.916	30.853	13	5.916	-53.061	0.004	0.006
2. Intact Family System (N = 561)								
M_1	$\mu_{ijzmh} = \lambda + \lambda_i^{DF} + \lambda_j^{DR} + \lambda_z^{EC} + \lambda_m^{CC} + +\lambda_h^{SC}$	806.205	1431.254	26	754.205	641.6323	<.001	<.001
M_2	$M_1 + \lambda_{ij}^{DF.DR} + \lambda_{iz}^{DF.EC} + \lambda_{im}^{DF.CC} + +\lambda_{ih}^{DF.SC}$	217.683	351.636	22	173.683	78.42914	<.001	<.001

Label	Models	G^2	χ^2	df	AIC	BIC	p (G^2)	p (χ^2)
M_3	$M_2 + \lambda_{jz}^{DR.EC} + \lambda_{jm}^{DR.CC} + \lambda_{jh}^{DR.SC}$	70.743	161.518	19	32.743	-49.5217	<.001	<.001
M_4	$M_3 + \lambda_{jz}^{EC.CC} + \lambda_{jm}^{EC.SC} + \lambda_{jh}^{CC.SC}$	33.486	39.275	16	1.486	-67.7895	0.006	0.001
M_5	$M_3 + \lambda_{zmh}^{EC.CC.SC}$	32.833	38.234	15	2.833	-62.1128	0.005	0.001
M_6	$M_5 + \lambda_{ijm}^{DF.DR.CC}$	30.111	33.861	14	2.111	-58.5051	0.007	0.002
M_7	$M_5 + \lambda_{ijz}^{DF.DR.EC}$	32.143	36.428	14	4.143	-56.4731	0.004	0.001
M_8	$M_5 + \lambda_{i}^{DF.DR.SC}$	31.8	34.702	14	3.8	-56.8161	0.004	0.002
3. Non-Intact Family System (N = 129)								
M_1	$\mu_{ijzmh} = \lambda + \lambda_i^{DF} + \lambda_j^{DR} + \lambda_z^{EC} + \lambda_m^{CC} + +\lambda_h^{SC}$	162.958	400.448	26	110.958	36.60288	<.001	<.001
M_2	$M_1 + \lambda_{ij}^{DF.DR} + \lambda_{iz}^{DF.EC} + \lambda_{im}^{DF.CC} + +\lambda_{ih}^{DF.SC}$	37.611	39.692	22	-6.389	-69.3049	0.02	0.012
M_3	$M_2 + \lambda_{jz}^{DR.EC} + \lambda_{jm}^{DR.CC} + \lambda_{jh}^{DR.SC}$	20.368	21.487	19	-17.632	-71.9684	0.373	0.311
M_4	$M_3 + \lambda_{jz}^{EC.CC} + \lambda_{jm}^{EC.SC} + \lambda_{jh}^{CC.SC}$	11.811	10.155	16	-20.189	-65.946	0.757	0.858
M_5	$M_3 + \lambda_{zmh}^{EC.CC.SC}$	11.392	9.879	15	-18.608	-61.5052	0.724	0.827
M_6	$M_5 + \lambda_{ijm}^{DF.DR.CC}$	10.774	9.098	14	-17.226	-57.2634	0.704	0.825
M_7	$M_5 + \lambda_{ijz}^{DF.DR.EC}$	11.283	9.654	14	-16.717	-56.7544	0.664	0.787

M_8	$M_5 + \lambda_i^{DF.DR.SC}$	10.725	9.711	14	-17.275	-57.3124	0.708	0.783
Label	Models	G^2	χ^2	df	AIC	BIC	p (G^2)	p (χ^2)
4. Elite Education (N = 135)								
M_1	$\mu_{ijzmh} = \lambda + \lambda_i^{DF} + \lambda_j^{DR} + \lambda_z^{EC} + \lambda_m^{CC} + +\lambda_h^{SC}$	140.318	205.36	26	88.318	12.78086	<.001	<.001
M_2	$M_1 + \lambda_{ij}^{DF.DR} + \lambda_{iz}^{DF.EC} + \lambda_{im}^{DF.CC} + +\lambda_{ih}^{DF.SC}$	46.204	48.486	22	2.204	-61.712	0.002	0.001
M_3	$M_2 + \lambda_{jz}^{DR.EC} + \lambda_{jm}^{DR.CC} + \lambda_{jh}^{DR.SC}$	22.666	24.658	19	-15.334	-70.5342	0.252	0.172
M_4	$M_3 + \lambda_{jz}^{EC.CC} + \lambda_{jm}^{EC.SC} + \lambda_{jh}^{CC.SC}$	13.506	12.026	16	-18.494	-64.9784	0.635	0.742
M_5	$M_3 + \lambda_{zmh}^{EC.CC.SC}$	11.651	11.155	15	-18.349	-61.9281	0.705	0.742
M_6	$M_5 + \lambda_{ijm}^{DF.DR.CC}$	11.511	10.869	14	-16.489	-57.1628	0.646	0.696
M_7	$M_5 + \lambda_{ijz}^{DF.DR.EC}$	11.635	11.263	14	-16.365	-57.0388	0.636	0.665
M_8	$M_5 + \lambda_i^{DF.DR.SC}$	11.535	11.003	14	-16.465	-57.1388	0.644	0.686
5. Non-Elite Education (N = 555)								
M_1	$\mu_{ijzmh} = \lambda + \lambda_i^{DF} + \lambda_j^{DR} + \lambda_z^{EC} + \lambda_m^{CC} + +\lambda_h^{SC}$	787.235	1683.052	26	735.235	622.5236	<.001	<.001
M_2	$M_1 + \lambda_{ij}^{DF.DR} + \lambda_{iz}^{DF.EC} + \lambda_{im}^{DF.CC} + +\lambda_{ih}^{DF.SC}$	213.743	335.935	22	169.743	74.37181	<.001	<.001
M_3	$M_2 + \lambda_{jz}^{DR.EC} + \lambda_{jm}^{DR.CC} + \lambda_{jh}^{DR.SC}$	70.642	137.455	19	32.642	-49.724	<.001	<.001

Label	Models	G^2	χ^2	df	AIC	BIC	p (G^2)	p (χ^2)
M_4	$M_3 + \lambda_{jz}^{EC.CC} + \lambda_{jm}^{EC.SC} + \lambda_{jh}^{CC.SC}$	33.465	36.745	16	1.465	-67.8959	0.006	0.002
M_5	$M_3 + \lambda_{zmh}^{EC.CC.SC}$	28.194	30.338	15	-1.806	-66.8318	0.02	0.011
M_6	$M_5 + \lambda_{ijm}^{DF.DR.CC}$	26.751	27.717	14	-1.249	-61.9398	0.021	0.016
M_7	$M_5 + \lambda_{ijz}^{DF.DR.EC}$	27.507	30.918	14	-0.493	-61.1838	0.017	0.006
M_8	$M_5 + \lambda_{i}^{DF.DR.SC}$	26.249	27.456	14	-1.751	-62.4418	0.024	0.017
6. Gender (Male = 564)								
M_1	$\mu_{ijzmh} = \lambda + \lambda_i^{DF} + \lambda_j^{DR} + \lambda_z^{EC} + \lambda_m^{CC} + +\lambda_h^{SC}$	768.352	1520.578	26	716.352	603.6406	<.001	<.001
M_2	$M_1 + \lambda_{ij}^{DF.DR} + \lambda_{iz}^{DF.EC} + \lambda_{im}^{DF.CC} + +\lambda_{ih}^{DF.SC}$	223.323	318.43	22	179.323	83.95181	<.001	<.001
M_3	$M_2 + \lambda_{jz}^{DR.EC} + \lambda_{jm}^{DR.CC} + \lambda_{jh}^{DR.SC}$	77.575	127.681	19	39.575	-42.791	<.001	<.001
M_4	$M_3 + \lambda_{jz}^{EC.CC} + \lambda_{jm}^{EC.SC} + \lambda_{jh}^{CC.SC}$	34.691	33.801	16	2.691	-66.6699	0.004	0.006
M_5	$M_3 + \lambda_{zmh}^{EC.CC.SC}$	31.441	31.171	15	1.441	-63.5848	0.008	0.008
M_6	$M_4 + \lambda_{ijm}^{DF.DR.CC}$	29.071	29.593	14	1.071	-59.6198	0.01	0.009
M_7	$M_4 + \lambda_{ijz}^{DF.DR.EC}$	30.79	30.994	14	2.79	-57.9008	0.006	0.006
M_8	$M_4 + \lambda_{i}^{DF.DR.SC}$	29.564	29.342	14	1.564	-59.1268	0.009	0.009

Label	Models	G^2	χ^2	df	AIC	BIC	p (G^2)	p (χ^2)
7. Gender (Female =126)								
M_1	$\mu_{ijzmh} = \lambda + \lambda_i^{DF} + \lambda_j^{DR} + \lambda_z^{EC} + \lambda_m^{CC} + +\lambda_h^{SC}$	194.83	304.097	26	142.83	68.47488	<.001	<.001
M_2	$M_1 + \lambda_{ij}^{DF.DR} + \lambda_{iz}^{DF.EC} + \lambda_{im}^{DF.CC} + +\lambda_{ih}^{DF.SC}$	39.86	60.528	22	-4.14	-67.0559	0.011	<.001
M_3	$M_2 + \lambda_{jz}^{DR.EC} + \lambda_{jm}^{DR.CC} + \lambda_{jh}^{DR.SC}$	17.573	49.824	19	-20.427	-74.7634	0.551	<.001
M_4	$M_3 + \lambda_{jz}^{EC.CC} + \lambda_{jm}^{EC.SC} + \lambda_{jh}^{CC.SC}$	15.703	34.647	16	-16.297	-62.054	0.474	0.004
M_5	$M_3 + \lambda_{zmh}^{EC.CC.SC}$	15.348	37.142	15	-14.652	-57.5492	0.427	0.001
M_6	$M_4 + \lambda_{ijm}^{DF.DR.CC}$	12.488	16.359	14	-15.512	-55.5494	0.567	0.292
M_7	$M_4 + \lambda_{ijz}^{DF.DR.EC}$	15.23	32.36	14	-12.77	-52.8074	0.363	0.004
M_8	$M_4 + \lambda_i^{DF.DR.SC}$	15.151	28.53	14	-12.849	-52.8864	0.368	0.012

SPSS to examine whether interaction among capitals is significant. Running both models would not cause any harm to model because M_4 is identical to binary logistic regression model wherein each variable of M_4 can be taken as dependent variable to measure what log linear model evaluates in one equation.

4.5.1 Class reproduction

The output of M_4 of total sample (see table 4.19) showed the significant interaction between dominant class of father and dominant class of the respondent ($\beta = 1.94$, OR = 6.96, $p<.001$). The significant interaction affirms that dominant class is 6.96 times highly likely to reproduce through the effect of dominant class of father on dominant class of his children. The reproduction of capitals is also significant as shown by significant interaction between dominant class of father with economic ($\beta = 1.465$, OR = 4.33, $p<.001$), cultural ($\beta = 1.09$, OR = 2.98, $p<.001$) and social capital ($\beta = 0.61$, OR = 1.84, $p<.05$). Overall, the significant interactions affirmed the reproduction of capitals and dominant class.

Secondly, the class perpetuation part of the model showed significant interaction between dominant class of the respondents and economic ($\beta = 2.34$, OR = 10.361, $p<.001$) and cultural capital ($\beta = 1.634$, OR = 5.12, $p<.001$) which explained that other than social capital, respondents are highly likely to perpetuate their economic and cultural capital. Thirdly, the last part of the analysis showed that economic capital is convertible into cultural ($\beta = 0.996$, OR = 2.71, $p<.001$) and social capital ($\beta = 0.923$, OR = 2.52, $p<.001$), and vice versa. However, no significant interaction was found between cultural and social capital.

Table 4.19

Log linear Model of class reproduction (total sample size)

Parameter	β	S.E	Z	*p*	OR	95% C.I.	
						LB	*UB*
DF	-3.058	0.252	-12.12	<.001	0.0470	-3.5530	-2.5640
DR	-1.18	0.13	-9.058	<.001	0.3073	-1.4360	-0.9250
EC	-3.825	0.328	-11.678	<.001	0.0218	-4.4670	-3.1830
CC	-2.972	0.252	-11.802	<.001	0.0512	-3.4660	-2.4790
SC	-1.532	0.149	-10.296	<.001	0.2161	-1.8240	-1.24
DF X DR	1.939	0.287	6.747	<.001	6.9518	1.3760	2.502
DF X EC	1.465	0.233	6.278	<.001	4.3275	1.0080	1.922
DF X CC	1.092	0.23	4.742	<.001	2.9802	0.641	1.544
DF X SC	0.609	0.223	2.73	0.006	1.8386	0.172	1.045
DR X EC	2.338	0.349	6.691	<.001	10.3605	1.653	3.023
DR X CC	1.634	0.3	5.448	<.001	5.1243	1.046	2.221
DR X SC	0.356	0.233	1.528	0.127	1.4276	-0.101	0.812
EC X CC	0.996	0.233	4.28	<.001	2.7074	0.54	1.452
EC X SC	0.923	0.225	4.105	<.001	2.5168	0.482	1.363
CC X SC	0.205	0.215	0.954	0.34	1.2275	-0.216	0.625
Constant	5.361	0.067	79.98	<.001	212.94	5.23	5.492

Note: DF = Father's Dominant Class, DR = Respondent's Dominant Class, EC = High Economic Capital, CC = Highbrow Cultural Capital, SC = Highbrow Social Capital, OR = Odd ratio, C.I. = Confidence of Interval, LB = Lower Bound, UB = Upper Bound.

4.5.2 Family and class reproduction

Table 4.20a showed the results of log linear model of intact family system. The table affirmed class reproduction. The significant interaction between dominant class of father and dominant class of the respondents (β = 1.99, p<.001) revealed that children from dominant class with intact family system are 7.32 times highly likely to reproduce the class comparing with dominated class of the respondents. The comparison of OR with total sample size revealed that the reproduction of dominant class with intact family system is 0.36 times higher than total sample size. Moreover, the reproduction is also 0.31 times higher comparing with non-intact family system of same class (see table 4.20b). Moreover, the analysis also confirmed the reproduction of respondents' economic (β = 1.488, OR = 4.43, p<.001) and cultural capital (β = 1.09, OR = 3.0, p<.001), whereas, no significant interaction between dominant class of father and social capital of the respondents was found (p>.05).

The second part of the analysis showed that respondents are 9.92 times highly likely to perpetuate the dominant class economically (β = 2.3, p<.001) and 5.871 times culturally (β = 1.77, p<.001) comparing with dominated class. However, no significant interaction between dominant class of the respondents and their social capital was found (p>.05). The last part of the analysis showed that economic capital is convertible into cultural (β = 1.102, p<.001) and social capital (β = 0.92, p<.001) in intact family system. However, cultural and social capital did not significantly interact (p>.05).

Table 4.20b showed the results of log linear model of non-intact family system. The results showed significant interaction between dominant class of father and dominant class of the respondent (β = 1.95, p<.05) which revealed that the class is 7.03 times highly likely to reproduce itself in non-intact family system. The table also reveals that dominant class of father significantly interacted with economic (β = 1.61, p<.05), cultural (β = 1.114, p<.05) and social capital (β = 1.02, p<.05) of the respondents.

The class perpetuation in the family system is subject to economic and cultural capital. The results showed that dominant class of the respondents significantly interacted with their economic (β = 2.34, p<.05) and cultural capital (β = 1.25, p<.05). However, no significant interaction was found between social and cultural capital of the respondents in the family system (p>.05). Lastly, the table also showed that only economic and social capital significantly interacted (β = 1.533, p<.05).

Table 4.20a

Log linear model of class reproduction in intact family system

Parameter	β	S.E.	Z	*p*	OR	95% C.I.	
						LB	UB
DF	-3.133	0.298	-10.507	<.001	0.0436	-3.7170	-2.5490
DR	-1.149	0.144	-7.959	<.001	0.3170	-1.4320	-0.8660
EC	-3.711	0.359	-10.325	<.001	0.0245	-4.4160	-3.0070
CC	-3.129	0.305	-10.269	<.001	0.0438	-3.7260	-2.5320
SC	-1.689	0.178	-9.498	<.001	0.1847	-2.0380	-1.341
DF X DR	1.99	0.339	5.874	<.001	7.3155	1.3260	2.654
DF X EC	1.488	0.256	5.81	<.001	4.4282	0.9860	1.99
DF X CC	1.099	0.253	4.338	<.001	3.0012	0.602	1.595
DF X SC	0.464	0.249	1.865	0.062	1.5904	-0.024	0.952
DR X EC	2.295	0.387	5.93	<.001	9.9244	1.537	3.054
DR X CC	1.77	0.355	4.985	<.001	5.8709	1.074	2.466
DR X SC	0.502	0.268	1.874	0.061	1.6520	-0.023	1.026
EC X CC	1.102	0.258	4.279	<.001	3.0102	0.598	1.607
EC X SC	0.919	0.251	3.658	<.001	2.5068	0.427	1.412
CC X SC	0.206	0.239	0.862	0.389	1.2288	-0.263	0.675
Constant	5.143	0.075	68.604	<.001	171.2287	4.996	5.29

Note: DF = Father's Dominant Class, DR = Respondent's Dominant Class, EC = High Economic Capital, CC = Highbrow Cultural Capital, SC = Highbrow Social Capital, OR = Odd ratio, C.I. = Confidence of Interval, LB = Lower Bound, UB = Upper Bound.

The important consideration of the results of both family systems is of interaction between capitals because in the family systems the respondents belong to dominant class. Therefore, class reproduction and perpetuation are highly likely to be evidenced. However, it's

the conversion of the capital which showed that which family system supports better cultural capital and its conversion comparatively, because intact family system provides higher chances of parent's labor time to inculcate cultural capital to children. Thus, higher chances of its conversion into economic capital. Therefore, dominant class of non-intact family cannot support the strategy of conversion of cultural capital into economic capital because it provides lesser labor time to parents to inculcate or transmit the capital. However, the results of intact family system showed that economic capital of the respondent is convertible into cultural as well as social capital which affirms the proposition of support and transmission of capital in the family. However, the results of non-intact family system reveal that the system did not support conversion of economic capital into cultural capital and vice versa. Moreover, the results also indicate that intact family system provides 0.39 higher odd ratio of overall class reproduction than non-intact family system.

Table 4.20b

Log linear model of class reproduction in non-intact family system

Parameter	β	S.E	Z	*p*	OR	95% C.I.	
						LB	UB
DF	-2.974	0.517	-5.75	<.001	0.0511	-3.9870	-1.9600
DR	-1.314	0.303	-4.333	<.001	0.2687	-1.9080	-0.7190
EC	-4.584	0.847	-5.412	<.001	0.0102	-6.2440	-2.9240
CC	-2.628	0.474	-5.545	<.001	0.0722	-3.5570	-1.6990
SC	-1.142	0.286	-4.00	<.001	0.3192	-1.7020	-0.582
DF X DR	1.95	0.567	3.438	0.001	7.0287	0.8380	3.061
DF X EC	1.605	0.645	2.486	0.013	4.9779	0.3400	2.87
DF X CC	1.114	0.569	1.957	0.05	3.0465	-0.002	2.23
DF X SC	1.017	0.525	1.935	0.053	2.7649	-0.013	2.047
DR X EC	2.235	0.844	2.65	0.008	9.3465	0.582	3.889
DR X CC	1.248	0.594	2.102	0.036	3.4834	0.084	2.412

DR X SC	-0.032	0.505	-0.064	0.949	0.9685	-1.021	0.957
EC X CC	0.272	0.587	0.464	0.643	1.3126	-0.879	1.423
EC X SC	1.533	0.591	2.591	0.01	4.6321	0.373	2.692
CC X SC	0.394	0.516	0.763	0.445	1.4829	-0.618	1.405
Constant	3.753	0.149	25.177	<.001	42.6488	3.4610	4.0450

Note: DF = Father's Dominant Class, DR = Respondent's Dominant Class, EC = High Economic Capital, CC = Highbrow Cultural Capital, SC = Highbrow Social Capital, OR = Odd ratio, C.I. = Confidence of Interval, LB = Lower Bound, UB = Upper Bound.

4.5.3 Education and Class Reproduction

Table 4.21a

Log linear model of class reproduction in elite education (M_4)

Parameter	β	S.E	Z	*p*	OR	95% C.I.	
						LB	LB
DF	-2.02	0.532	-3.797	<.001	0.1327	-3.0630	-0.9770
DR	-0.391	0.345	-1.135	0.256	0.6764	-1.0670	0.2840
EC	-3.426	0.801	-4.278	<.001	0.0325	-4.9960	-1.8560
CC	-2.469	0.591	-4.179	<.001	0.0847	-3.6270	-1.3110
SC	-1.177	0.424	-2.778	0.005	0.3082	-2.0080	-0.347
DF X DR	1.584	0.597	2.656	0.008	4.8744	0.4150	2.754
DF X EC	0.892	0.483	1.846	0.065	2.4400	-0.0550	1.839
DF X CC	1.99	0.509	3.908	<.001	7.3155	0.992	2.988
DF X SC	0.145	0.467	0.311	0.756	1.1560	-0.769	1.06
DR X EC	2.805	0.796	3.524	<.001	16.5271	1.245	4.365
DR X CC	0.019	0.674	0.028	0.978	1.0192	-1.302	1.339
DR X SC	0.2	0.549	0.364	0.716	1.2214	-0.877	1.276
EC X CC	1.211	0.481	2.519	0.012	3.3568	0.269	2.153
EC X SC	0.461	0.453	1.018	0.309	1.5857	-0.426	1.348
CC X SC	0.332	0.429	0.774	0.439	1.3938	-0.509	1.173
Constant	2.818	0.231	12.207	<.001	16.7433	2.3660	3.2710

Note: DF = Father's Dominant Class, DR = Respondent's Dominant Class, EC = High Economic Capital, CC = Highbrow Cultural Capital, SC = Highbrow Social Capital, OR = Odd ratio, C.I. = Confidence of Interval, LB = Lower Bound, UB = Upper Bound.

Table 4.21a showed the results of M_4 of elite education. The results of the model showed that dominant class of fathers significantly interacted with dominant class of the respondents ($\beta = 1.584$, $p<.05$) which affirms the overall class reproduction of the respondents who have elite education. Moreover, the table also showed that dominant class of fathers significantly interacted with cultural capital ($\beta = 1.99$, $p<.001$) of the respondents. Overall, the first part of the results indicated the reproduction of class and cultural capital of respondents who acquired elite education.

As far as class perpetuation concerns, the results showed significant interaction between dominant class of respondents and their economic capital ($\beta = 2.81$, $p<.001$) which revealed the class perpetuation the economically. However, the class perpetuation part of the analysis found no significant interaction of dominant class of respondents with cultural and social capital ($p>.05$). As it has described above that M_3 is the most parsimonious model, yet researcher assessed M_4 model on the respondents from elite education in order to identify the conversion of capitals. The results of M_4 showed significant interaction of economic and cultural capitals ($\beta = 1.21$, $p<.05$).

Table 4.21b showed the results of M_4 of non-elite education. The table showed that dominant class of fathers significantly interacted with dominant class of the respondents ($\beta = 2.1$, $p<.001$). The table also showed that dominant class of fathers significantly interacted with economic ($\beta = 1.54$, $p<.001$), cultural ($\beta = 0.84$, $p<.05$) and social capital ($\beta = 0.79$, $p<.05$) of the respondents. This part of the model dealt with class reproduction that indicated reproduction of capitals and dominant class of the respondents who have non-elite education through the significant effect of class of father.

The second part of the equation in the analysis showed class perpetuation of the respondents through their capitals. The results showed that those respondents who have non-elite education perpetuate their class economically ($\beta = 2.16$, $p<.001$) and culturally ($\beta = 2.03$, $p<.001$). However, dominant class of the respondents have no significant interaction with their social capital.

The last part of the analysis explained conversion of capitals into each other. The table showed significant interaction of economic capital with cultural ($\beta = 1.03$, $p<.001$) and social capital ($\beta = 1.118$, $p<.001$).

Table 4.21b

Log linear model of class reproduction in non-elite education

Parameter	β	S.E.	Z	*p*	OR	95% C.I.	
						LB	UB
DF	-3.356	0.302	-11.119	<.001	0.0349	-3.9480	-2.7640
DR	-1.319	0.144	-9.179	<.001	0.2674	-1.6010	-1.0370
EC	-3.941	0.364	-10.821	<.001	0.0194	-4.6550	-3.2270
CC	-3.137	0.291	-10.767	<.001	0.0434	-3.7080	-2.5660
SC	-1.585	0.16	-9.92	<.001	0.2049	-1.8980	-1.272
DF X DR	2.074	0.343	6.05	<.001	7.9566	1.4020	2.745
DF X EC	1.536	0.273	5.618	<.001	4.6460	1.0000	2.073
DF X CC	0.835	0.27	3.095	0.002	2.3048	0.306	1.364
DF X SC	0.787	0.258	3.052	0.002	2.1968	0.282	1.293
DR X EC	2.159	0.396	5.447	<.001	8.6625	1.382	2.937
DR X CC	2.027	0.343	5.911	<.001	7.5913	1.355	2.699
DR X SC	0.367	0.261	1.406	0.16	1.4434	-0.145	0.879
EC X CC	1.027	0.273	3.754	<.001	2.7927	0.491	1.563
EC X SC	1.118	0.263	4.258	<.001	3.0587	0.603	1.633
CC X SC	0.17	0.254	0.67	0.503	1.1853	-0.328	0.668
Constant	5.287	0.07	75.667	<.001	197.7493	5.1500	5.4240

Note: DF = Father's Dominant Class, DR = Respondent's Dominant Class, EC = High Economic Capital, CC = Highbrow Cultural Capital, SC = Highbrow Social Capital, OR = Odd ration, C.I. = Confidence of Interval, LB = Lower Bound, UB = Upper Bound.

4.5.4 Gender and Class Reproduction

Table 4.22a

Log linear model of class reproduction of male respondents

Parameter	β	S.E.	Z	*p*	OR	95% C.I.	
						LB	UB
DF	-3.091	0.275	-11.223	<.001	0.0455	-3.6300	-2.5510
DR	-1.229	0.143	-8.582	<.001	0.2926	-1.5100	-0.9480
EC	-3.948	0.365	-10.811	<.001	0.0193	-4.6640	-3.2330
CC	-2.865	0.261	-10.986	<.001	0.0570	-3.3770	-2.3540
SC	-1.499	0.158	-9.462	<.001	0.2234	-1.8090	-1.188
DF X DR	1.959	0.315	6.217	<.001	7.0922	1.3420	2.577
DF X EC	1.243	0.262	4.735	<.001	3.4660	0.7280	1.757
DF X CC	1.05	0.254	4.14	<.001	2.8577	0.553	1.547
DF X SC	0.672	0.246	2.727	0.006	1.9581	0.189	1.154
DR X EC	2.431	0.387	6.281	<.001	11.3702	1.673	3.19
DR X CC	1.57	0.317	4.948	<.001	4.8066	0.948	2.193
DR X SC	0.226	0.258	0.876	0.381	1.2536	-0.279	0.731
EC X CC	1.092	0.261	4.183	<.001	2.9802	0.58	1.604
EC X SC	1.114	0.253	4.405	<.001	3.0465	0.618	1.609
CC X SC	0.167	0.243	0.687	0.492	1.1818	-0.31	0.644
Constant	5.209	0.072	72.045	<.001	182.9111	5.0680	5.3510

Note: DF = Father's Dominant Class, DR = Respondent's Dominant Class, EC = High Economic Capital, CC = Highbrow Cultural Capital, SC = Highbrow Social Capital, OR = Odd Ratio, C.I. = Confidence of Interval, LB = Lower Bound, UB = Upper Bound.

Table 4.22a depicts the results of M_4 of male respondents. The table denoted that dominant class of fathers significantly interacted with dominant class of male respondents (β = 1.96, p<.001) which affirmed the reproduction of dominant class of male respondents. It also revealed that dominant class of fathers highly contributed to relocate their male children into the same class. In terms of odd ratio, the results showed that dominant class of male respondents is 7.1 times highly likely to reproduce the class of their fathers then dominated class of the same gender. The table also showed that dominant class of fathers significantly interacted with economic (β = 1.243, p<.001), cultural (β = 1.1, p<.001) and social capital (β = 0.67, p<.001) of male respondents.

The second part of the results dealt with class perpetuation. The results showed that dominant class of male respondents are 11.4 and 4.81 times highly likely to perpetuate their class through economic and cultural capital, respectively, comparing with dominated class of male respondents. However, dominant class of the respondents have no significant interaction with social capital (p>.05).

The interactions among capitals represent conversion of capitals. The table showed that economic capital of male respondents significantly interacted with their cultural (β = 1.09, p<.001) and social capital (β = 1.1, p<.001). However, the table showed no significant interaction between cultural and social capital (p>.05).

Table 4.22b showed results of M_4 of female respondents. The table revealed that dominant class of fathers of female respondents significantly interacted with dominant class of female respondents (β = 1.742, p<.05). The odd ratio showed that dominant class of female respondents is 5.71 times highly likely to reproduce the class of their fathers which is 1.4 times lower than male respondents of the same class. Moreover, dominant class of fathers of female respondents significantly interacted with economic (β = 2.33, p<.001) and cultural capital (β = 1.55, p<.05) of female respondents.

The table also showed that dominant class of female respondents perpetuates their class economically (β = 1.943, p<.05) and culturally (β = 2.37, p<.05). However, the dominant class of female respondents has no significant interaction with social capital (p<.05). Lastly, only economic and cultural capital significantly interacted (β = 0.599, p<.05) and other interaction in terms of capitals were non-significant (p>.05).

Table 4.22b

Log linear model of class reproduction of female respondents

Parameter	β	S.E.	Z	*p*	OR	95% C.I.	
						LB	UB
DF	-2.959	0.653	-4.533	<.001	0.0519	-4.2390	-1.6800
DR	-0.901	0.316	-2.849	0.004	0.4062	-1.5210	-0.2810
EC	-3.455	0.784	-4.409	<.001	0.0316	-4.9910	-1.9190
CC	-4.012	1.037	-3.869	<.001	0.0181	-6.0450	-1.9800
SC	-1.806	0.447	-4.041	<.001	0.1643	-2.6820	-0.93
DF X DR	1.742	0.731	2.382	0.017	5.7087	0.3090	3.176
DF X EC	2.326	0.558	4.165	<.001	10.2369	1.2310	3.42
DF X CC	1.552	0.604	2.57	0.01	4.7209	0.368	2.735
DF X SC	0.55	0.553	0.994	0.32	1.7333	-0.534	1.634
DR X EC	1.943	0.845	2.299	0.021	6.9797	0.287	3.599
DR X CC	2.368	1.097	2.159	0.031	10.6760	0.219	4.517
DR X SC	0.959	0.591	1.621	0.105	2.6091	-0.2	2.118
EC X CC	0.599	0.543	1.103	0.27	1.8203	-0.465	1.662
EC X SC	0.246	0.514	0.478	0.633	1.2789	-0.762	1.253
CC X SC	0.255	0.469	0.543	0.587	1.2905	-0.664	1.174
Constant	3.407	0.179	19.057	<.001	30.1746	3.0570	3.7580

Note: DF = Father's Dominant Class, DR = Respondent's Dominant Class, EC = High Economic Capital, CC = Highbrow Cultural Capital, SC = Highbrow Social Capital, C.I. = Confidence of Interval, LB = Lower Bound, UB = Upper Bound.

4.6 Mediation Models I

Initially, the current study evaluated simple mediation model constructed by Gaddis (2013) –habitus mediates between cultural capital and education –who suggested that previous researches neglected habitus as mediator. The model (M1a) comprised three variables of Gaddis's model (see figure 4.12a). Cultural capital variable is developed through MCA. All indicators of cultural capital were entered in MCA except education. The object scores of dimension 1 was taken as continuous variable i.e. cultural capital.

The dimension explained 15.1% variance in the data with eigenvalue of 10.26 and alpha = 0.916. However, inertia of second dimension was 0.076, eigenvalue = 5.15 and alpha = 0.818. Among five measures of habitus, importance of education and economic status did not significantly load on habitus (p>.05). These two indicators were excluded. Remaining three indicators of habitus significantly loaded (p>.001) on the latent variable. These indicators are importance of upper class culture (h1 = 0.79), relationship with rich people (h2 = 0.81) and aspiration or importance to gain political power (h3 = 0.72). Education is the same variable as described in methodology.

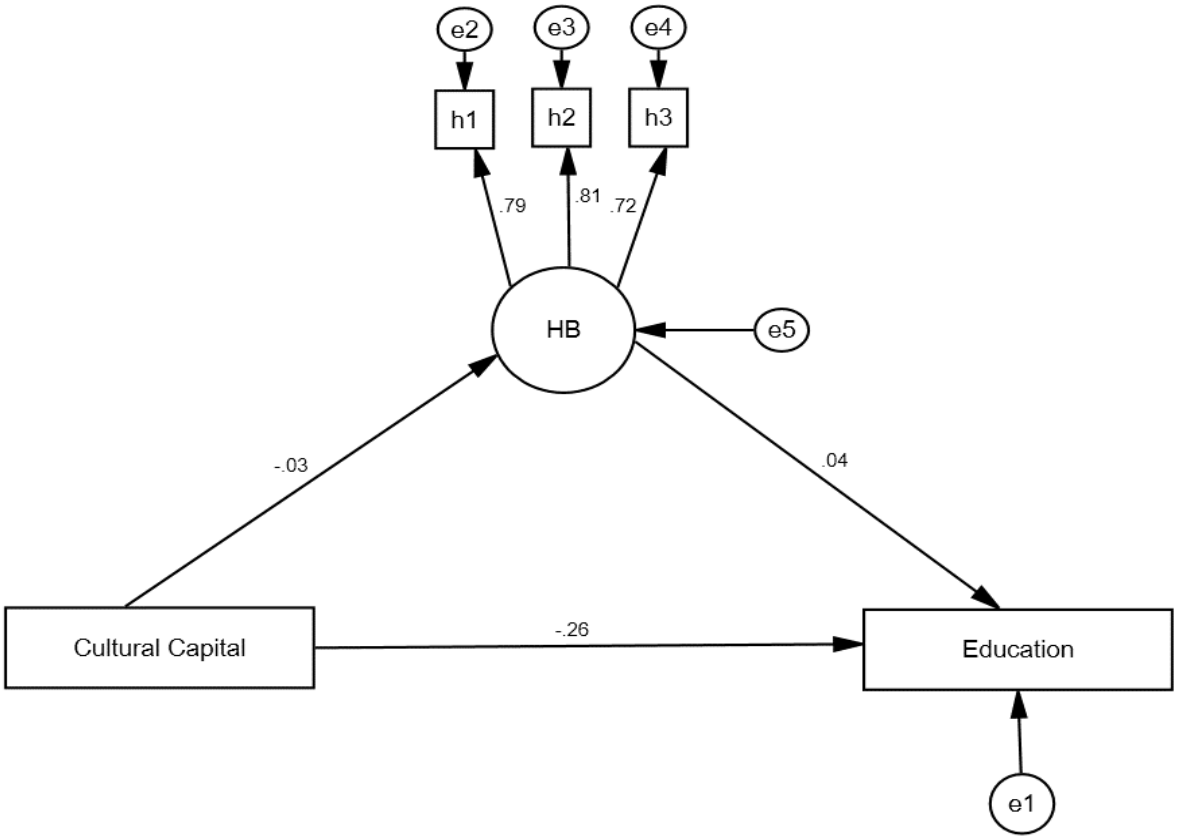

Figure 4.12a. Appraisal of M1a

The fit indices of the model showed that the model significantly fitted the data, $\chi^2(4) = 9.41$, $p>.05$, GFI = 0.995, AGFI = 0.980, CFI = 0.993, RMR = 0.029 and RMSEA = 0.044. Although, the value of RMSEA is > 0.05 yet it is commonly acknowledged that the value < 0.08 also represents fit of a model (Browne & Cudeck, 1993).

Table 4.23

Standardized direct (with and without mediator) and indirect effect of predictor on education

Model	**Direct without mediator**	**Direct with mediator**	**Indirect**
Total Sample (**M1a**)			
CCR HB EDU	-0.258 (>.05)	-.0256 (>.05)	-0.002 (>.05)
Elite education (**M1b**)			
CCR HB EDU	-0.124 (>.05)	-0.148 (>.05)	0.000 (>.05)
Total Sample (M2a)			
CCF CCR EDU	-0.145 (<.05)	0.052 (>.05)	-0.205 (<.05)
ECF CCR EDU	-0.090 (<.05)		
ECM CCR EDU	0.039 (>.05)		
CCM CCR EDU	-0.039 (>.05)	-0.109 (>.05)	0.081 (<.05)

Note: CCR = cultural capital of respondent, HB = habitus, EDU = education, CCF = cultural capital of father, CCM = cultural capital of mother, ECF = economic capital of father, ECM = economic capital of mother.

The results showed neither statistically significant effect of cultural capital on habitus nor habitus on education ($p>.05$). Researcher also ran almost all possible other models, which included each indicator of habitus at a time as mediator between cultural capital and education. Unfortunately, all models showed statistical insignificant effect of cultural capital on habitus and habitus on education ($p>.05$).

The model was also evaluated on sample of respondents with elite education. The fit indices of the model showed that the model significantly fitted the data, $\chi^2(4) = 4.16$, $p>.05$, GFI = 0.988, AGFI = 0.955, CFI = 0.999, RMR = 0.048 and RMSEA = 0.017. Similar to the habitus mediation model of total sample, the results showed that habitus did not significantly mediate between cultural capital and education of the respondents ($p>.05$).

Moreover, mediation of habitus is not the only case in reproduction. However, the mediation of cultural capital has also been asserted (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Passeron,

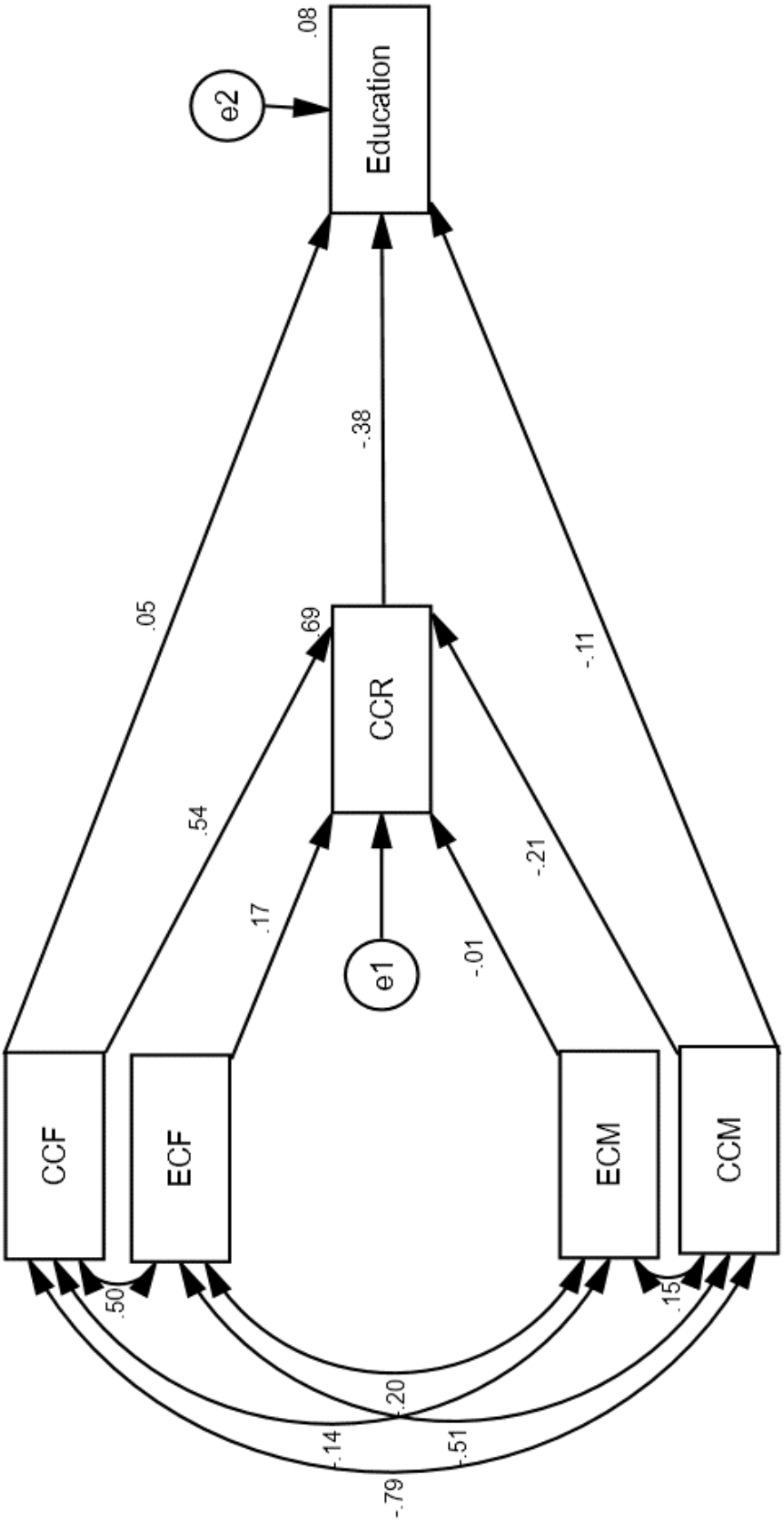

Figure 4.12b. Appraisal of M2a

1990a). Therefore, I developed another simple mediation model in which cultural capital of respondents mediate cultural capital of parents and education of respondent (M2a). I used first dimensions of each capital variable of parents, developed through MCA. The first dimension of cultural capital of father and mother has inertia of 0.18 and 0.22 respectively. The eigenvalues of the dimension of father and mother were 9.68 and 11.67 with the alpha of 0.914 and 0.932 respectively. The first dimension of economic capital of father and mother explained 68.5% (eigenvalue = 4.798, alpha = 0.923) and 92% (eigenvalue = 5.54, alpha = 0.983) of the variance respectively.

The fit indices of the model showed significant fit of the data, $\chi^2(4) = 4.16$, $p>.05$, GFI = 0.988, AGFI = 0.955, CFI = 0.999, RMR = 0.048 and RMSEA = 0.017. Interestingly, the model showed significant mediation of cultural capital of respondents (see figure 4.12b). The indirect effect of cultural capital of father and mother was -0.21 and 0.081 (see table 4.23).

4.7 Mediation Models II

Figure 4.13a consisted of the results of direct, indirect and total effect of predictors on outcomes. The direct effect is unmediated effect of predictor on outcome, whereas, the indirect effect is mediated effect on outcome. The total effect is combined effect, mediated and unmediated, of a predictor on an outcome. Overall, model fitted the data, $\chi^2(3) = 5.83$, $p>.05$, GFI = 0.997, AGFI = 0.943, CFI = 0.99, RMR = 0.044, RMSEA = 0.049 (see table 4.25). Table 4.24a showed that capitals of parents could explain only 3.5% variation in importance of elite education that respondents have for them or for their children, 56% variation in economic capital of the respondents, 47% variation in cultural capital of the respondents and 50% variation in social capital of the respondents.

Moreover, the table also showed that only social and cultural capital of mother has statistically significant direct effect on aspiration of elite education of the respondents for themselves or for their children in case if they are married. However, cultural capital of mother has statistical direct positive effect ($\beta = 0.21$) and social capital of mother has statistically significant direct negative effect ($\beta = -0.13$) on the outcome ($p<.05$). On the contrary, capitals of father are not directly associated with the aspiration.

Social capital of father has a direct negative association with economic capital of the respondents ($\beta = -0.093$) and economic capital of father has a direct positive association with

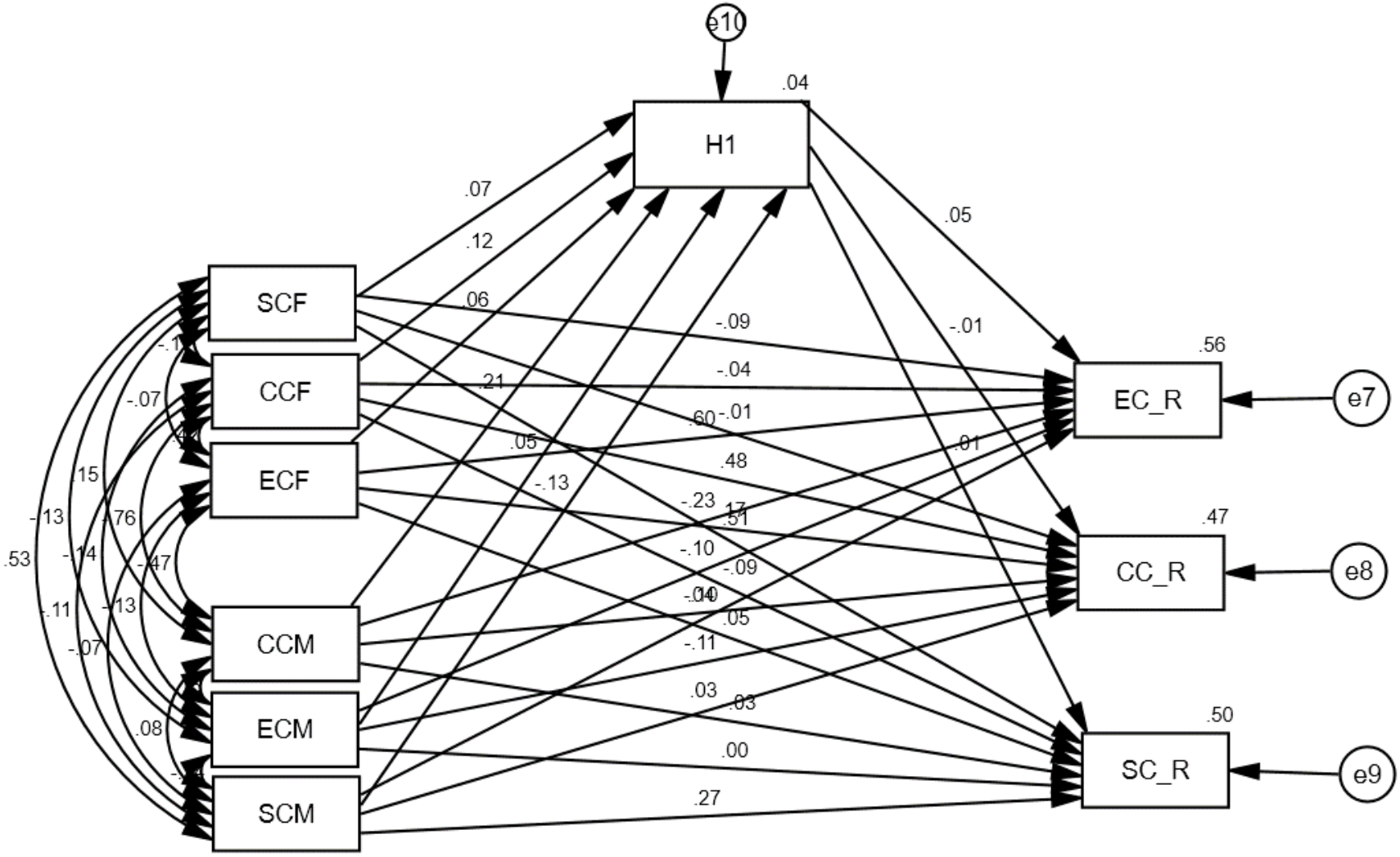

Figure 4.13a. Path analysis: mediation model habitus – importance of prestigious education. Note: SCF= social capital of father, CCF = cultural capital father, ECF = economic capital father, CCM = cultural capital mother, ECM = economic capital mother, SCM = social capital mother, H1 = importance of prestigious (elite) education, EC_R = economic capital respondent, CC_R = cultural capital respondent and SC_R = social capital respondent.

Table 4.24a

Standardized regression weights of elite education mediation model (H1) of dominant class of respondents

Variables	Elite education	Economic Capital	Cultural Capital	Social Capital
	B (S.E.)	B (S.E.)	B (S.E.)	B (S.E.)
Direct Effect				
Social Capital of father	0.073 (.012)	-0.093 (.007) *	-0.014 (.007)	0.513 (.037)**
Cultural capital of father	0.120 (.096)	-0.041 (.055)	0.479 (.052)**	-0.089 (.288)
Economic capital of father	0.059 (.061)	0.604 (.035)**	0.171 (.033)**	0.046 (.183)
Cultural capital of mother	0.211 (.093)*	-0.232 (.054)**	-0.103 (.050)	-0.027 (.279)
Economic capital of mother	0.045 (.049)	-0.097 (.028)*	-0.115 (.026)*	0.004 (.147)
Social capital of mother	-0.131 (.019)*	0.045 (.011)	0.034 (.010)	0.271 (.057)**
Elite education	–	0.050 (.029)	-0.012 (.027)	0.012 (.152)
R^2	0.035	0.558	0.467	0.498
Total effect				
Social Capital of father	0.073 (.062)	-0.089 (.044)	-0.015 (.045)	0.514 (.057)*
Cultural capital of father	0.120 (.082)	-0.035 (.049)	0.478 (.065)*	-0.087 (.058)
Economic capital of father	0.059 (.065)	0.607 (.036)*	0.171 (.042)*	0.047 (.039)
Cultural capital of mother	0.211 (.083)*	-0.221 (.049)*	-0.105 (.066)	-0.025 (.060)
Economic capital of mother	0.045 (.059)	-0.095 (.037)*	-0.115 (.031)*	0.005 (.044)

Social capital of mother	-0.131 (.068)	0.038 (.043)	0.036 (.039)	0.269 (.054)*
Elite education	–	0.050 (.039)	-0.012 (.035)	0.012 (.039)
Indirect effect				
Social Capital of father	–	0.004 (.005)	-0.001 (.004)	0.001 (.004)
Cultural capital of father	–	0.006 (.006)	-0.001 (.005)	0.001 (.006)
Economic capital of father	–	0.003 (.004)	-0.001 (.003)	0.001 (.003)
Cultural capital of mother	–	0.011 (.009)	-0.003 (.008)	0.003 (.009)
Economic capital of mother	–	0.002 (.003)	-0.001 (.003)	0.001 (.003)
Social capital of mother	–	-0.007 (.007)	0.002 (.005)	-0.002 (.006)
Elite education	–	–	–	–

Note: *.p<.05, **. P<.001.

the capital of respondents (β = 0.604, p<.001). However, both cultural and economic capital of mother have a direct negative association with economic capital of the respondents (β = -0.23 and -0.97, respectively, p<.001; p<.05).

Cultural and economic capital of father significantly predicted cultural capital of the respondents. However, the effect of cultural capital of father is higher than economic capital on cultural capital of respondents as the table showed that standardized coefficient value of cultural capital is 0.48, whereas, the coefficient value of economic capital is 0.17. It means that the increase in one standard deviation of cultural capital of father would cause direct increase of 0.48 standard deviation in cultural capital of the respondents. However, such increase in father's economic capital would cause only 0.17 standard deviation direct increase in cultural capital of the respondents. Moreover, economic capital of mother is significantly negatively directly associated with cultural capital of the respondents (β = -0.12, p<.05). Cultural and social capital of mother is not directly associated with cultural capital of the respondents. Interestingly, aspiration of elite education of the respondents in terms of its importance also have direct significant positive effect on their social capital (β = 0.27, p<.05).

Social capital of father and mother are significantly associated directly with social capital of the respondents. However, the capital of father has strong direct effect on the capital of respondent than the capital of mother because the standardized regression coefficient of father's social capital is 0.51, whereas, the coefficient of mother is 0.27.

The cultural capital of mother has a significant positive total effect on the aspiration of elite education (β = 0.211, p<.05). However, no other variable has a significant total effect on the outcome (p>.05). Cultural and economic capital of mother have significant negative total effect on economic capital of the respondents (β = -0.22 and -0.095, respectively). Economic capital of father is significantly positively associated with economic capital of the respondents (β = 0.61, p<.05).

Cultural and economic capital of fathers significantly positively related with cultural capital of the respondents as the results showed standardized coefficient of total effect of father's economic and cultural capitals are 0.48 and 0.71, whereas, the economic capital of mother has -0.12 significant negative total effect on cultural capital of the respondents (p<.05).

The social capital of father and mother are significantly positively related with social capital of the respondents. However, the capital of father is strongly associated with the capital of the respondents (β = 0.514) comparing with the capital of mother (β = 0.27, p<.05). Similar

to the direct effect model, aspiration of elite education is significantly positively associated with social capital of the respondents (β = 0.012, *p*<.05). The table also comprised mediated effect of predictors on outcomes. The table showed that no predictor has mediated effect on outcome variables. It means that aspiration of elite education of the respondents for themselves or for their children in case if they are married did not mediate material and non-material resources of parents and their own material and non-material resources (*p*>.05).

Figure 4.13b depicts mediated, unmediated and total effects of parents' capital on capitals of the respondents. The fit indices showed that the model fitted the data, $\chi^2(3) = 6.28$, *p*>.05, GFI = 0.997, AGFI = 0.939, CFI = 0.998, RMR = 0.047, RMSEA = 0.053. Further, table 4.24b showed very low percentage of variation explained by capital of parents in the importance to have political power among respondents ($R^2 = 0.027$). However, capitals of parents explained 56% variation in economic capital of the respondents, 47% variation in cultural capital of the respondents and 50% variation in social capital of the respondents. It also substantially depicts that the predictors significantly contributed in the model.

The table showed that only cultural capital of father has a significant direct related with political power of respondent (β = 0.21, *p*<.05). In other words, the increase of one standard deviation in cultural capital of father would increase the importance to have political power among respondents by 0.21 standard deviation. The other predictors did not significantly contribute in the model. However, most of the predictors contributed in the model in which economic capital of respondents is dependent variable. The model showed that social capital of father and economic capital of mother have same standardized coefficient of effect on economic capital of the respondents (β = -0.093 each, *p*<.05). Cultural capital of mother also has a significant negative association directly with economic capital of the respondents (β = -0.21, *p*<.001). Economic capital of father is positively associated directly with economic capital of the respondents (β = 0.61, *p*<.001).

Economic and cultural capital of father have significant positive direct relation with cultural capital of respondents (β = 0.17 and 0.478, respectively, *p*<.001), whereas, economic capital of mother is significantly negatively associated with cultural capital of the respondents (β = -0.115, *p*<.05). Cultural capital of father and social capital of mother are positively associated with social capital of the respondents (β = 0.521 and 0.266, *p*<.001). Moreover,

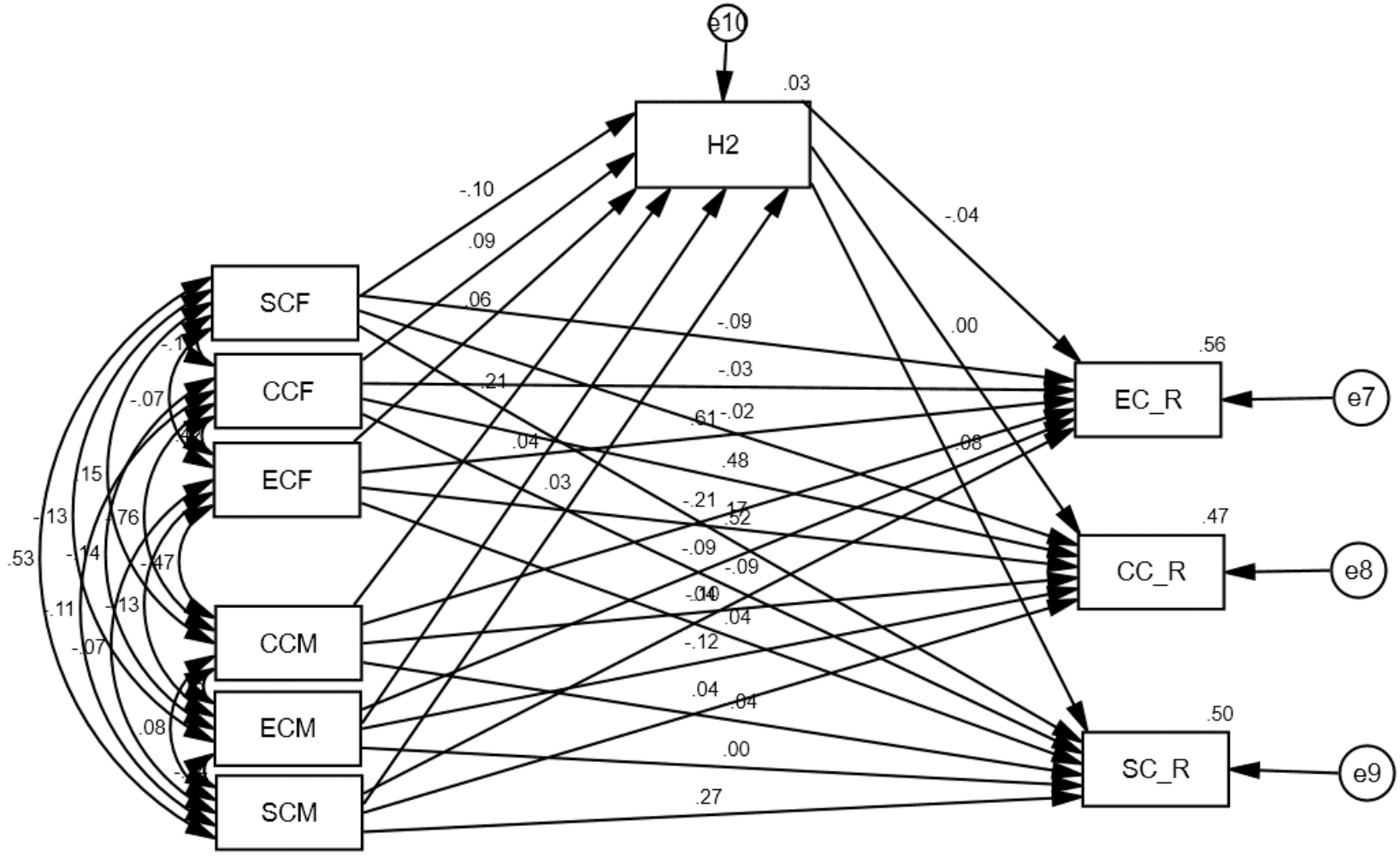

Figure 4.13b. Path analysis: mediation model habitus – importance of political power. Note: SCF= social capital of father, CCF = cultural capital father, ECF = economic capital father, CCM = cultural capital mother, ECM = economic capital mother, SCM = social capital mother, H2 = importance of political power, EC_R = economic capital respondent, CC_R = cultural capital respondent and SC_R = social capital respondent.

Table 4.24b

Standardized regression weights of political power mediation model (H2) of dominant class of respondents

Variables	**Political Power**	**Economic Capital**	**Cultural Capital**	**Social Capital**
	B (S.E.)	B (S.E.)	B (S.E.)	B (S.E.)
Direct effect				
Social Capital of father	-0.101 (.012)	-0.093 (.007)*	-0.015 (.007)	0.521 (.037)**
Cultural capital of father	0.091 (.094)	-0.032 (.055)	0.478 (.051)**	-0.094 (.286)
Economic capital of father	0.065 (.060)	0.609 (.035)**	0.171 (.033)**	0.042 (.182)
Cultural capital of mother	0.207 (.091)*	-0.214 (.054)**	-0.104 (.050)	-0.041 (.277)
Economic capital of mother	0.036 (.048)	-0.093 (.028)*	-0.115 (.026)*	0.002 (.146)
Social capital of mother	0.033 (.019)	0.040 (.011)	0.036 (.010)	0.266 (.057)**
Political Power	–	-0.037 (.030)	-0.004 (.028)	0.077 (.153)*
R^2	0.027	0.557	0.467	0.504
Total effect				
Social Capital of father	-0.101 (.055)	-0.089 (.044)*	-0.015 (.045)	0.514 (.057)*
Cultural capital of father	0.091 (.076)	-0.035 (.049)	0.478 (.065)*	-0.087 (.058)
Economic capital of father	0.065 (.055)	0.607 (.036)*	0.171 (.042)*	0.047 (.039)
Cultural capital of mother	0.207 (.087)*	-0.221 (.049)*	-0.105 (.066)	-0.025 (.060)
Economic capital of mother	0.036 (.056)	-0.095 (.037)*	-0.115 (.031)*	0.005 (.044)
Social capital of mother	0.033 (.061)	0.038 (.043)	0.036 (.039)	0.269 (.054)*

Political Power	–	-0.037 (.035)	-0.004 (.035)	0.077 (.035)*
Indirect effect				
Social Capital of father	–	0.004 (.004)	–	-0.008 (.006)
Cultural capital of father	–	-0.003 (.005)	–	0.007 (.008)
Economic capital of father	–	-0.002 (.003)	–	0.005 (.005)*
Cultural capital of mother	–	-0.008 (.008)	-0.001 (.008)	0.016 (.011)*
Economic capital of mother	–	-0.001 (.003)	–	0.003 (.004)
Social capital of mother	–	-0.001 (.004)	–	0.003 (.005)
Political Power	–	–	–	–

Note: *.p<.05, **. p<.001

the importance to have political power among respondents is also significantly positively associated with social capital of the respondents (β = 0.77, *p*<.05).

The importance to have political power for respondents significantly positively mediated economic capital of father and social capital of the respondents (β = 0.005, *p*<.05). Similarly, the mediator significantly positively mediated cultural capital of mother and social capital of the respondents (β = 0.016, *p*<.05). However, the mediator did not significantly contribute in other mediation models.

Only cultural capital of mother has significant positive mediated and unmediated effect on importance that respondents give to the possession of political power (β = 0.207, *p*<.05). Cultural and economic capital of mother have a significant negative total effect on economic capital of the respondents (β = -0.221 and -0.095 respectively, *p*<.05). Social capital of father also has a significant negative total effect on the capital of the respondent (β = -0.089, *p*<.05).

Cultural and economic capital of father have a significant positive total effect on cultural capital of father (β = 0.478 and 171 respectively, *p*<.05), whereas, economic capital of mother have significant negative total effect on the capital of the respondents (β = -0.115, *p*<.05). Moreover, social capital of father and mother have a significant positive effect on social capital of the respondents (β = 0.514 and 0.269, respectively, *p*<.05).

Figure 4.13c showed direct, indirect and total effect of parents' capital on capitals of the respondents. The fit indices revealed that the model fitted the data, $\chi^2(3) = 5.89$, *p*>.05, GFI = 0.997, AGFI = 0.943, CFI = 0.998, RMR = 0.046, RMSEA = 0.05. Moreover, the value of R^2 showed how much the predictors explained variations in each outcome in each model. Table 2.24c revealed that a small amount of variation in outcome (i.e. importance to have relations with rich people by respondents) is explained by capitals of parents ($R^2 = 0.021$). Capitals of parents explained 46.9% and 49.9% variation in cultural and social capital of the respondents, respectively. However, the predictors explained highest amount of variation in economic capital of the respondents ($R^2 = 0.558$).

The table showed that cultural capital of mother has a significant positive effect on the importance of relations with rich people for the respondents (β = 0.202, *p*<.05). Social capital of father is significantly negatively associated with economic capital of the respondents (β = -0.091, *p*<.05), whereas, economic capital of father is significantly positively associated with the capital of the respondents (β = 0.610, *p*<.001). However, cultural and economic capital of

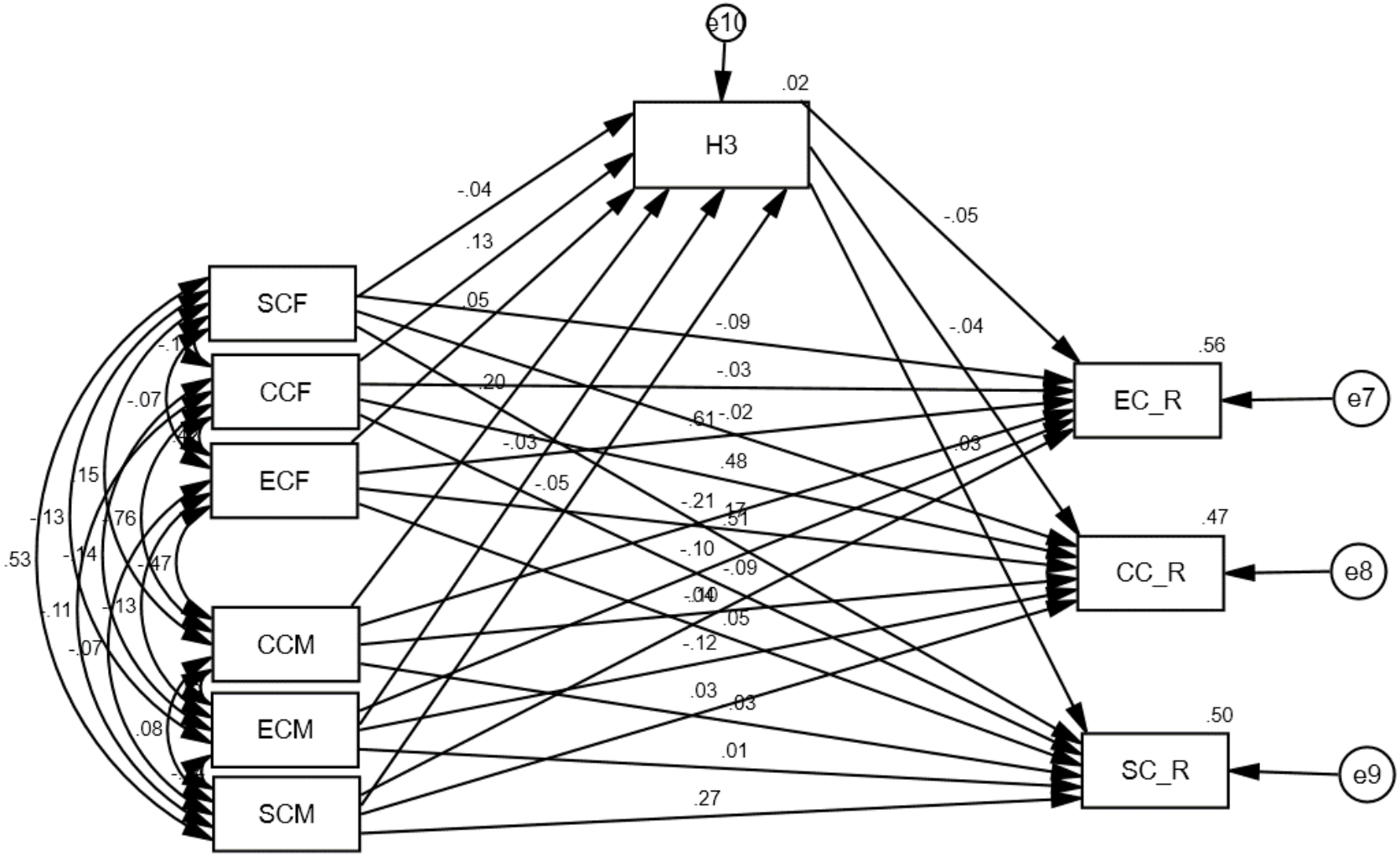

Figure 4.13c. Path analysis: mediation model habitus – importance of relationship with rich people. Note: SCF= social capital of father, CCF = cultural capital father, ECF = economic capital father, CCM = cultural capital mother, ECM = economic capital mother, SCM = social capital mother, H3 = importance of relationship with rich people, EC_R = economic capital respondent, CC_R = cultural capital respondent and SC_R = social capital respondent.

Table 4.24c

Standardized regression weights of relations with rich people mediation model (H3) of dominant class of respondents

Variables	**Relations with rich**	**Economic Capital**	**Cultural Capital**	**Social Capital**
	B (S.E.)	B (S.E.)	B (S.E.)	B (S.E.)
Direct effect				
Social Capital of father	-0.037 (.012)	-0.091 (.007)*	-0.016 (.007)	0.515 (.037)**
Cultural capital of father	0.127 (.095)	-0.029 (.055)	0.483 (.052)**	-0.090 (.288)
Economic capital of father	0.053 (.061)	0.610 (.035)**	0.173 (.033)**	0.046 (.183)
Cultural capital of mother	0.202 (.091)*	-0.211 (.054)**	-0.098 (.050)	-0.030 (.279)
Economic capital of mother	-0.026 (.048)	-0.096 (.028)*	-0.116 (.026)*	0.005 (.146)
Social capital of mother	-0.048 (.019)	0.036 (.011)	0.034 (.010)	0.270 (.057)**
Relations with rich	–	-0.054 (.029)	-0.038 (.027)	0.026 (.153)
R^2	0.021	0.558	0.469	0.499
Total effect				
Social Capital of father	-0.037 (.060)	-0.089 (.044)	-0.015 (.045)	0.514 (.057)*
Cultural capital of father	0.127 (.072)	-0.035 (.049)	0.478 (.065)*	-0.087 (.058)
Economic capital of father	0.053 (.056)	0.607 (.036)*	0.171 (.042)*	0.047 (.039)
Cultural capital of mother	0.202 (.077)*	-0.221 (.049)*	-0.105 (.066)	-0.025 (.060)
Economic capital of mother	-0.026 (.051)	-0.095 (.037)*	-0.115 (.031)*	0.005 (.044)
Social capital of mother	-0.048 (.052)	0.038 (.043)	0.036 (.039)	0.269 (.054)*

Relations with rich	–	-0.054 (.034)	-0.038 (.037)	0.026 (.038)
Indirect effect				
Social Capital of father	–	0.002 (.004)	0.001 (.003)	-0.001 (.003)
Cultural capital of father	–	-0.007 (.007)	-0.005 (.006)	0.003 (.006)
Economic capital of father	–	-0.003 (.004)	-0.002 (.003)	0.001 (.003)
Cultural capital of mother	–	-0.011 (.009)	-0.008 (.008)	0.005 (.009)
Economic capital of mother	–	0.001 (.004)	0.001 (.003)	-0.001 (.003)
Social capital of mother	–	0.003 (.003)	0.002 (.003)	-0.001 (.003)
Relations with rich	–	–	–	–

Note: *.p<.05, **. P<.001.

mother are significantly negatively associated with the capital of the respondents (β = -0.211 and -0.096, respectively, $p<.001$; $p<.05$).

The table also showed that cultural capital of father has standardized regression coefficient of 0.483 in the model in which cultural capital of respondents is outcome. Moreover, the coefficient of economic capital of father (β = 0.173, $p<.001$) is lower than their cultural capital. However, economic capital of mother has a significant negative effect on cultural capital of the respondents (β = -0.116, $p<.05$). Social capital of father and mother is significantly positively associated with social capital of respondents (β = 0.515 and 0.270, respectively, $p<.001$).

The table also showed that the mediator (i.e. importance to have relations with rich people) did not significantly mediated predictors and outcomes ($p>.05$). The table also comprised of total (mediated and unmediated) effect of parents' capital on each outcome. The results showed that as only cultural capital of mother has a direct effect on mediator, similarly, only the capital of mother has a significant positive total effect on mediator (β = 0.202, $p<.05$).

Moreover, economic capital of father has a significant positive total effect on economic capital of the respondents (β = 0.607, $p<.05$), whereas, cultural and economic capital of mother have a significant negative total effect on the capital of the respondents (β = -0.221 and -0.095, $p<.05$). Cultural capital of father has a significant positive total effect on cultural capital of the respondents (β = 0.478, $p<.05$), whereas, social capital of mother has a significant negative total effect on the capital of the respondents (β = -0.115, $p<.05$). Economic capital of respondents also has a significant positive total effect on the capital of the respondents (β = 0.171, $p<.05$) but standardized regression coefficient of the effect is lower than the effect of cultural capital of father.

Figure 4.13d showed the mediation of importance to have upper class of the respondents between capitals of parents and respondents. The fit indices showed that the mediation model fitted the data, $\chi^2(3) = 5.57$, $p>.05$, GFI = 0.997, AGFI = 0.946, CFI = 0.998, RMR = 0.043, RMSEA = 0.047. Table 4.24d showed that capitals of parents did not highly contribute in the variation of the mediator (i.e. importance to have upper class culture) because the values of R^2 is value low i.e. 0.017. However, the predictors highly contributed in other models. Capital of parents explained 56.4% variation in economic capital of the respondents respectively. Further, the value of R^2 is almost similar in the models of cultural

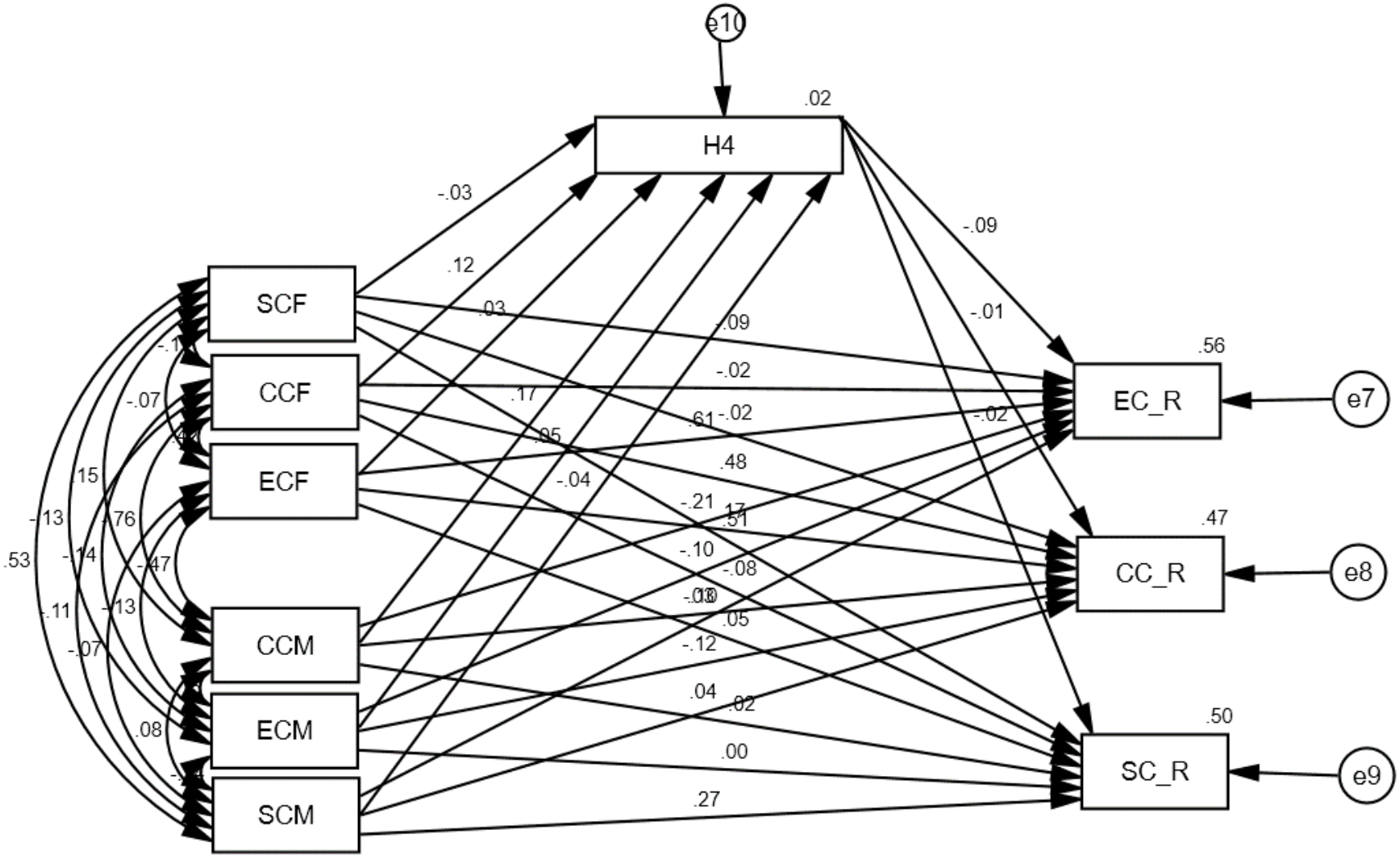

Figure 4.13d. Path analysis: mediation model habitus – importance of upper class culture. Note: SCF= social capital of father, CCF = cultural capital father, ECF = economic capital father, CCM = cultural capital mother, ECM = economic capital mother, SCM = social capital mother, H4 = importance of upper class culture, EC_R = economic capital respondent, CC_R = cultural capital respondent and SC_R = social capital respondent.

Table 4.24d

Standardized regression weights of upper class culture mediation model (H4) of dominant class of respondents

Variables	**Upper class culture**	**Economic Capital**	**Cultural Capital**	**Social Capital**
	B (S.E.)	B (S.E.)	B (S.E.)	B (S.E.)
Direct effects				
Social Capital of father	-0.034 (.012)	-0.092 (.007)*	-0.015 (.007)	0.513 (.037)**
Cultural capital of father	0.124 (.094)	-0.024 (.055)	0.479 (.052)**	-0.085 (.288)
Economic capital of father	0.033 (.060)	0.610 (.035)**	0.171 (.033)**	0.048 (.183)
Cultural capital of mother	0.174 (.090)*	-0.205 (.053)**	-0.104 (.050)	-0.021 (.278)
Economic capital of mother	-0.049 (.048)	-0.099 (.028)*	-0.115 (.026)*	0.004 (.147)
Social capital of mother	-0.043 (.019)	0.034 (.011)	0.036 (.010)	0.268 (.057)**
Upper class culture		-0.093 (.030)*	-0.006 (.028)	-0.021 (.155)
R^2	0.017	0.564	0.467	0.498
Total effect				
Social Capital of father	-0.034 (.061)	-0.089 (.044)	-0.015 (.045)	0.514 (.057)*
Cultural capital of father	0.124 (.073)	-0.035 (.049)	0.478 (.065)*	-0.087 (.058)
Economic capital of father	0.033 (.061)	0.607 (.036)*	0.171 (.042)*	0.047 (.039)
Cultural capital of mother	0.174(.076)*	-0.221 (.049)*	-0.105 (.066)	-0.025 (.060)
Economic capital of mother	-0.049 (.052)	-0.095 (.037)*	-0.115 (.031)*	0.005 (.044)
Social capital of mother	-0.043 (.058)	0.038 (.043)	0.036 (.039)	0.269 (.054)*

Upper class culture		-0.093 (.032)*	-0.006 (.036)	-0.021 (.038)
Indirect effect				
Social Capital of father	–	0.003 (.006)	–	0.001 (.003)
Cultural capital of father	–	-0.011 (.008)	-0.001 (.005)	-0.003 (.006)
Economic capital of father	–	-0.003 (.006)	–	-0.001 (.003)
Cultural capital of mother	–	-0.016 (.009)*	-0.001 (.006)	-0.004 (.008)
Economic capital of mother	–	0.005 (.005)	–	0.001 (.003)
Social capital of mother	–	0.004 (.006)	–	0.001 (.003)
Upper class culture	–	–	–	–

Note: *.p<.05, **. P<.001

and social capital. The predictors explained 46.7% and 49.8% variation in cultural and social capital of respondents. Therefore, except the first model in which mediator is outcome, most of the predictors contributed in the variation capitals of the respondents.

The table shows that only cultural capital of mother has a significant direct effect on the mediator (β = 0.174, p<.05). The other predictors did not significantly contribute in the model (p>.05). The table also displays association of parents' capital with capitals of the respondents. Table presented that social capital of father is significantly direct negative association with economic capital of the respondents (β = -0.092, p<.05). However, economic capital of father has a significant direct positive association with the capital of the respondents (β = 0.610, p<.001). Moreover, cultural and economic capital of mother are significantly negatively associated with economic capital of the respondents (β = -0.205 and -0.099, respectively, p<.001; p<.05). The table also showed the mediator has a significant negative direct effect on economic capital of respondents (β = -0.093, p<.05).

Social capital of mother has a significant direct negative association with cultural capital of mother (β = -0.115, p<.05), whereas, cultural and economic capital of father are have a significant positive direct association with cultural capital of respondents (β = 0.479 and 0.171, respectively, p<.001). Social capital of father and mother are significantly directly related with social capital of the respondents (β = 0.513 and 0.268, respectively, p<.001).

The table depicts that the mediator significantly negatively mediated cultural capital of mother and economic capital of the respondents (β = -0.016, p<.05). However, no mediation between other capitals of parents and capitals was found.

The results of total effect revealed that only cultural capital of mother has a significant positive total effect on the mediator (β = 0.174, p<.05) and the mediator has a significant negative total effect on economic capital of the respondents (β = -0.093, p<.05). Furthermore, economic capital of father has a significant positive total effect on economic capital of the respondents (β = 0.607, p<.05) and cultural and economic capital of mother have a significant negative total effect on the capital of the respondents (β = -0.221 and -0.095, respectively, p<.05).

Economic capital of mothers is significantly negatively related (mediated and unmediated) with cultural capital of the respondent (β = -0.115, p<.05), whereas, cultural and economic capital of fathers have a significant positive total effect on cultural capital of the respondents (β = 0.478 and 0.171, respectively, p<.05). Moreover, social capital of father and

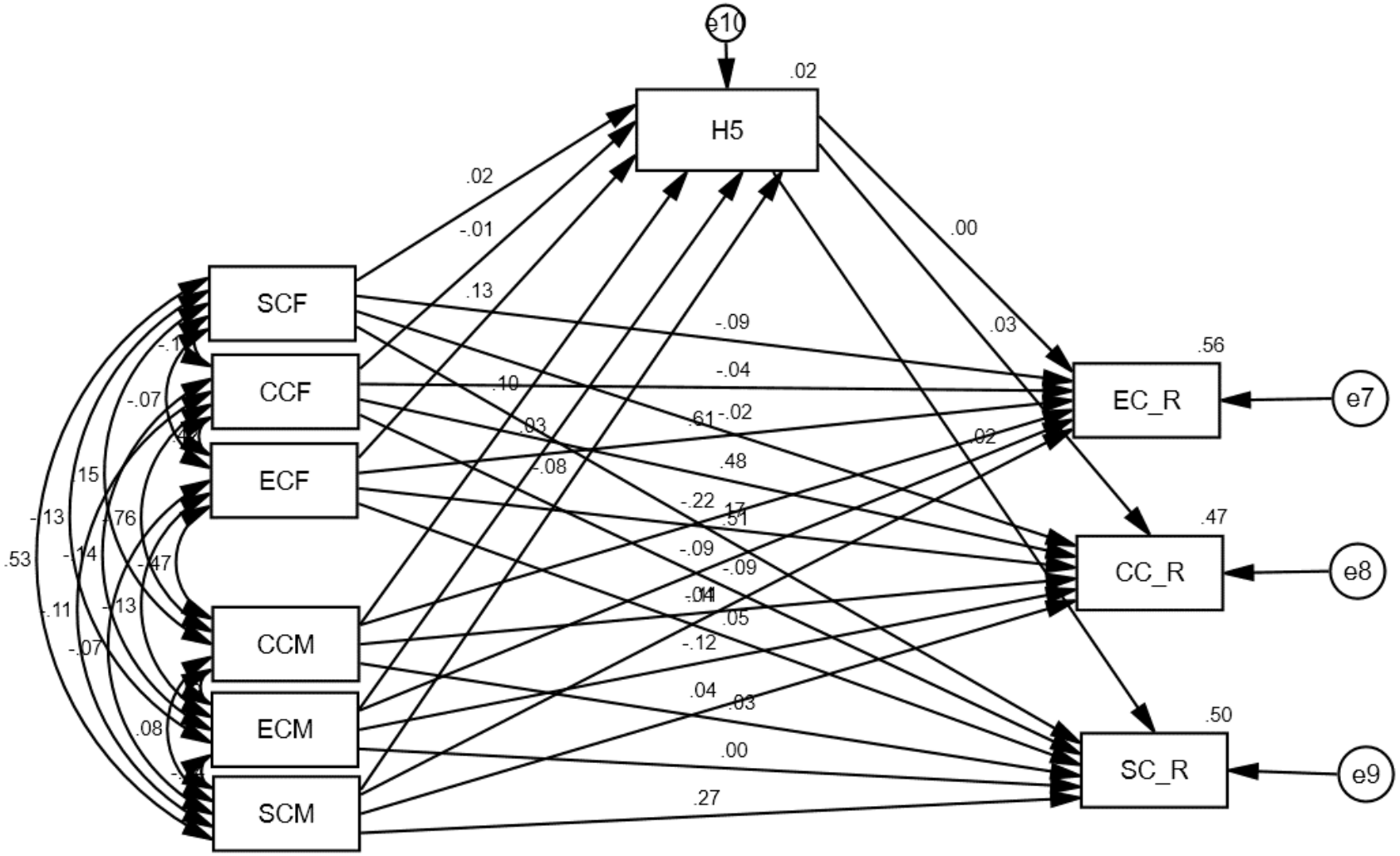

Figure 4.13e. Path analysis: mediation model habitus – importance of economic status. Note: SCF= social capital of father, CCF = cultural capital father, ECF = economic capital father, CCM = cultural capital mother, ECM = economic capital mother, SCM = social capital mother, H5 = importance of economic status, EC_R = economic capital respondent, CC_R = cultural capital respondent and SC_R = social capital respondent.

Table 4.24e

Standardized regression weights of economic status mediation model (H5) of dominant class of respondents

Variables	**Upper class culture**	**Economic Capital**	**Cultural Capital**	**Social Capital**
	B (S.E.)	B (S.E.)	B (S.E.)	B (S.E.)
Direct effects				
Social Capital of father	0.019 (.010)	-0.089 (.007)*	-0.016 (.007)	0.513 (.037)**
Cultural capital of father	-0.011 (.081)	-0.035 (.055)	0.478 (.051)**	-0.087 (.287)
Economic capital of father	0.127 (.052)*	0.607 (.036)**	0.166 (.033)**	0.045 (.184)
Cultural capital of mother	0.100 (.078)	-0.221 (.053)**	-0.109 (.050)	-0.026 (.277)
Economic capital of mother	0.027 (.041)	-0.095 (.028)*	-0.116 (.026)*	0.004 (.147)
Social capital of mother	-0.081 (.016)	0.038 (.011)	0.039 (.010)	0.270 (.057)**
Economic Status		0.000	0.035 (.032)	0.016 (.180)
R^2	0.022	0.468	0.555	0.498
Total effect				
Social Capital of father	0.019 (.062)	-0.089 (.045)	-0.015 (.044)	0.514 (.057)*
Cultural capital of father	-0.011 (.093)	-0.035 (.065)*	0.478 (.049)	-0.087 (.058)
Economic capital of father	0.127 (.059)*	0.607 (.042)*	0.171 (.036)*	0.047 (.039)
Cultural capital of mother	0.100 (.086)	-0.221 (.066)	-0.105 (.049)*	-0.025 (.060)
Economic capital of mother	0.027 (.048)	-0.095 (.031)*	-0.115 (.037)*	0.005 (.044)
Social capital of mother	-0.081 (.070)	0.038 (.039)	0.036 (.043)	0.269 (.054)*

Economic Status	–	0.000 (.039)	0.035 (.034)	0.016 (.039)
Indirect effect				
Social Capital of father	–	–	0.001 (.004)	–
Cultural capital of father	–	–	–	–
Economic capital of father	–	–	0.004 (.006)	0.002 (.005)
Cultural capital of mother	–	–	0.003 (.006)	0.002 (.005)
Economic capital of mother	–	–	0.001 (.003)	–
Social capital of mother	–	–	-0.003 (.005)	-0.001 (.005)
Economic Status	–	–	–	–

Note: *.p<.05, **.p<.001

mother is significantly positively associated (mediated and unmediated) with social capital of mother (β = 0.514 and 0.269, respectively, p<.05).

Figure 4.13e displays the results of mediation of the aspiration of respondents to enhance their economic status. The results showed that model fitted the data, $\chi^2(3) = 5.78$, GFI = 0.997, AGFI = 0.944, CFI = 0.998, RMR = 0.044, RMSEA = 0.049. Furthermore, table 4.24e showed that parents' capitals explained 2.2% variation in the mediator. However, the predictors explained 46.8% variation in economic capital, 55.5% variation in cultural capital and 49.8% variation in social capital of the respondents.

Table 4.25

Description of fit indices

Figure	Chi (df) = value, p	GFI	AGFI	CFI	RMR	RMSEA
4.13a	$\chi^2(3) = 5.83$, p>.05	0.997	0.943	0.998	0.044	0.049
4.13b	$\chi^2(3) = 6.28$, p>.05	0.997	0.939	0.998	0.047	0.053
4.13c	$\chi^2(3) = 5.89$, p>.05	0.997	0.943	0.998	0.046	0.050
4.13d	$\chi^2(3) = 5.57$, p>.05	0.997	0.946	0.998	0.043	0.047
4.13e	$\chi^2(3) = 5.78$, p>.05	0.997	0.944	0.998	0.044	0.049

The table displays that only economic capital of parents has significant direct positive association with the mediator (β = 0.127, p<.05). Social capital of father has significant direct negative association with economic capital of the respondents (β = -0.089, p<.05), whereas, economic capital of parents is significantly positively directly related with the capital of respondents (β = 0.607, p<.001). Cultural and economic capital of mother have a significant negative direct effect on economic capital of the respondents (β = -0.221 and -0.095, p<.001; p<.05).

Cultural and economic capital of father have significant direct positive association with cultural capital of respondents (β = 0.478 and 0.166, respectively, p<.001). However, economic capital of mother has a direct negative association with cultural capital of respondents (β = -0.116, p<.05). Social capital of father and mother have a significant positive direct effect on social capital of the respondents (β = 0.513 and 0.270, p<.001).

The table also showed that no mediation of the aspiration of respondents to enhance their economic status mediated capitals of parents and respondents (p>.05). The table also depicts total effect of predictors on outcomes. The table showed that only economic capital of father has a significant positive total effect on the mediator (β = 0.607, p<.05, whereas, cultural capital of father and economic capital of mother have a significant negative total effect on the capital of the respondents (β = -0.035 and -0.095, respectively, p<.05). Economic capital of father has a significant positive total effect on cultural capital of the respondents (β = 0.171, p<.05), whereas, cultural and economic capital of mother have a significant negative effect on cultural capital of the respondents (β = -0.105 and -0.115, respectively, p<.05). Social capital of father and mother have a significant positive total effect on social capital of the respondents (β = 0.514 and 0.269, respectively, p<.05).

4.8 Discussion

The study aimed to propose and evaluate a model of class reproduction which also incorporated the social space of positions in order to examine the chiastic structure of the space and identification of classes of agents located in the space. Bourdieu (1984, 1993) claimed that almost all fields encompass the principle of hierarchization. The principle is subject to the chiastic structure of a field, wherein, the inverse principle of domination of capitals prevailed. Researcher of the current study explored that the principle of hierarchization exists in the social space of positions of South Punjab, wherein, cultural and economic capital are unequally distributed. Moreover, the composition of capitals also divided the dominant class into two

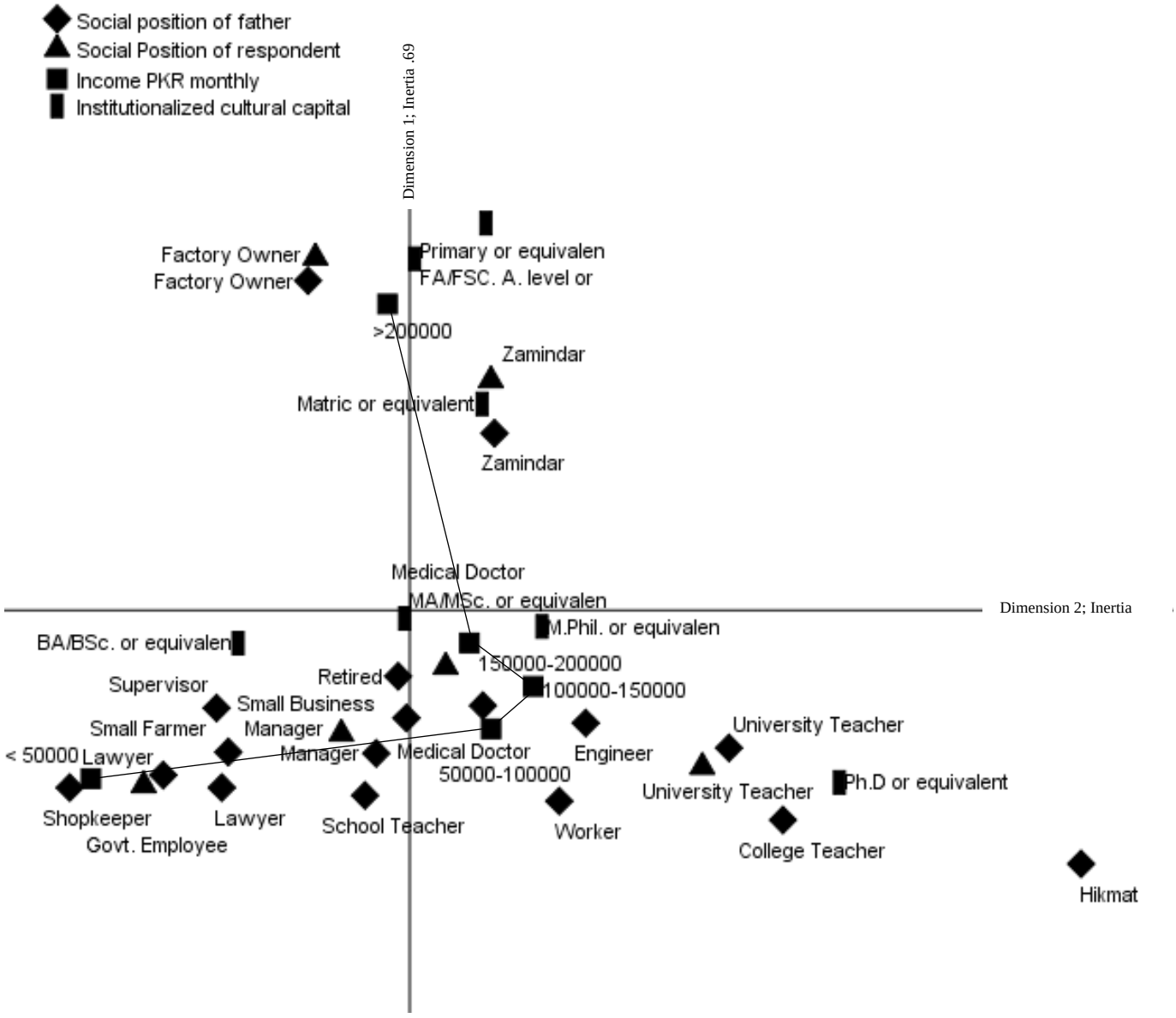

Figure 4.14. Social space of dominant class with class of origin

groups: one with high economic and low cultural capital and second with low economic and high cultural capital relatively (see figure 4.14).

Previous studies also attempted to identify the principle of hierarchization. Kalmijn (1994) developed the space of social positions that consisted of institutionalized cultural capital and income as proxy of economic capital. He found inverse order of relationship between institutionalized cultural capital and economic capital by social positions. The present study explored that agents with high economic capital e.g. zamindar, have low cultural capital and agents with high cultural capital e.g. teachers, have low economic capital. Another finding of this study is inconsistent with Kalmijn (1994) as he found that physicians scaled high on both dimensions. This study found that medical doctor is located at a position in the space that showed its relatively high cultural and social capital (see figure 4.10a and b). Further, his operationalization of cultural and economic capital was confined to education and income respectively, whereas, my operationalization of the concepts is much broader comparatively. The finding of the space is also consistent with Prieur et al. (2008). They constructed space of Denmark through data of fathers and found its chiasmic structure. Figure 4.11d showed that the results of the study are also consistent with their study. The figure showed inverse relationship between cultural and economic capital of fathers on dimension 2 and the upward movement of economic capital on dimension 1.

Moreover, the findings of the study are also consistent with Flemmen (2012) who constructed space of upper class (dominant). His study explored difference of material conditions between owners and employees within the space of dominant class. This research also found the inverse association between economic and cultural capital within the social space. Figure 4.14 showed that owners of means of production i.e. factory owners and zamindar, are located in the upper portion of the figure and associated with highest income but have relatively lower institutionalized cultural capital. However, other social positions from the dominant class are located in the lower portion of the figure and have relatively higher cultural capital but lower economic capital. Interestingly, similar to the findings of Flemmen (2012) that agents with social origin outside the ownership of means of production –he said 'outside the business world' –are employees and agents with social origin of ownership of means of production are reproducing the same ownership status. The figure also showed the agents with social origin of factory ownership and zamindar have reproduced the social position. However, rest of the social positions in the bottom of the figure has social origins who

do not own the means of production. In terms of capital opposition in space, one of the findings of the study is also consistent with Hjellbrekke and Korsnes (2009) who explored opposition of social and economic capital within the field of power in Norway by constructing space of Norwegian power. However, instead of the contrast with economic capital, Researcher of the current study found that social capital contrasted cultural capital (see figure 4.10a). The agents with higher economic capital also have club membership, whereas, agents with high cultural capital are not associated with highbrow social capital. Moreover, as they found that social capital is associated with business world, similarly, figure 24a clearly showed that the capital is associated with factory owners or located in the locus of owners of means of production i.e. machinery and land.

Overall, the results from the social space of positions are consistent with Anheier et al. (1995) as their findings supported Bourdieu's hypothesis of distribution of agents in social space with respect to volume and composition of capitals. Conclusively, the social space of positions constructed in the study affirmed the hierarchization principle of Bourdieu and chiastic structure of the space.

The findings of the study regarding class reproduction are partly contrary to the results of various previous studies. However, the major difference is of cultural capital. Most of the previous studies who directly dealt with reproduction and operationalized cultural capital through its major indicators such as visit to galleries, museum, cultural shows, etc., whereas, current study developed the variable through Multiple Correspondence *K*-Means Model which included all forms of the capital. The resulted factor scores were divided into high and lowbrow cultural capital. This may be a point of distinction that the finding of the present study can conclude that education also contribute in the class reproduction which is contrary to the previous studies such as Robinsion (1984) reported minor role of education in class reproduction. Similarly, Katsillis and Rubinson (1990) and Jonsson (1993) also concluded that education has a weak association with or mediating role in, the reproduction. However, the results of the study are consistent with some previous studies because some other studies evidenced social reproduction through education. Rössel and Beckert-Zieglschmid (2002) and Streib (2011) explored that the education contributes in reproduction of classes.

Table 4.26

Summary of log linear results

Propositions	All	Intact	Non-intact	Elite	Non-Elite	Male	Female
Class Reproduction	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Capitals Reproduction							
DF X Economic	✓	✓	✓	•	✓	✓	✓
DF X Cultural	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
DF X Social	✓	•	•	•	✓	✓	•
Class Perpetuation							
DR X Economic	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
DR X Cultural	✓	✓	✓	•	✓	✓	✓
DR X Social	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Capitals Conversion							
Economic X Cultural	✓	✓	•	✓	•	✓	✓
Economic X Social	✓	✓	✓	•	✓	✓	•
Social X Cultural	•	•	•	•	•	•	•

Note= DF = Dominant class of father, DR = Dominant class of respondent.

✓ = Significant interaction, • = No significant interaction

Streib (2011) used observational analysis to comprehend class reproduction among four years old student in school. Drawing upon Bourdieu's (1991) postulate that "language bestows power", she explored that how symbolic power attached to language represents class in classroom. She explored two representations of language use i.e. taking the floor and taking stand, in relation with the attached and use of, symbolic power in classroom. Through taking the floor – use of language with explanatory power – upper middle class students restrain working class students from articulation and, on the other hand, through taking a stand –use of language to resolve conflict (over toys) – succeed to achieve their goals, enhance their language ability and strengthen the symbolic power attached to a particular discourse they have acquired from family. Thus, in the space of language, upper middle class students reproduce and enhance symbolic power bestowed and attached to, language. Although, the present study did not

measure an exclusive effect of language competence on class reproduction but its effect can be taken into account while pondering on the overall effect of cultural capital because language competence is one of the indicator included in the composite variable of cultural capital. Therefore, the findings of study are also consistent with Streib (2011).

Focusing upon reproduction, results are also consistent with the finding of Gripsrud et al. (2011). Their study explored class reproduction and increasing class difference, though change in cultural preference took place. The findings of the present study also explored the changing cultural practices e.g. preference of music, yet class difference and reproduction of classes occurred.

Moreover, what makes the study unconventional and distinctive is its construction and evaluation of triptych model across intact and non-intact family system. Several studies have reported that non intact family system has a negative impact on socialization (e.g., Foxcroft & Lowe, 1991) and educational attainment of children (e.g., Bernardi & Boertien, 2017) that can be called the negative effect on cultural capital. However, as evidences from previous studies (e.g. Yeung, et. al., 2001) showed that parental involvement is higher in intact family system (e.g., Astone & McLanahan, 1991; Jeynes, 2007) that shapes children behavior. However, in non-intact family system, parental involvement is lower especially parents with lower education that in turn negatively effects on economic status of children as well as their cultural capital (Sun & Li, 2009; Amato, 2010; Kim, 2011). Similarly, social capital of parents effect cultural capital and economic capital of children in intact family system. In other words, dominant class with intact family system has higher chances to reproduce their class. Findings of this study are also consistent with the previous studies. The log linear model in intact family system showed that the dominant class of father is significantly associated with the dominant class and highbrow capital of children. Moreover, the class with intact family system could convert its economic capital into cultural and social capital, whereas, the class with non-intact family system is unable to convert the capital into cultural and social capital. This may be due to the lack of weak inculcation of cultural capital into the next generation because, as previous studies evidenced, parents cannot provide enough labor time for such inculcation.

One of the important propositions of reproduction theory is transformation of parental resources to children. Bourdieu is prominent theorist of the hypothesis that previous studies evaluated and found that parents not only transfer resources to children, but they also highly contribute in accumulation and enhancement of children resources.

Finding of the present study is consistent with some previous researches in terms of the effect of mother's cultural capital on cultural capital of children. The path analysis (see figure 4.12b) revealed that mother's cultural capital has an indirect effect on cultural capital of children. Such effect can be presumed due the fact that mothers' participation in highbrow cultural activities is greater than fathers. Therefore, as Willekens and Lievens (2014) stated the necessity of distinction of mother and father capital and found that mother's cultural capital has a greater effect on cultural capital of children than father's capital; current study findings supported their study. Moreover, the finding is also consistent with van Wel et al. (2006). Bourdieu (2001) also stated that women played a great role in establishing symbolic capital of family which is related with cultural capital in terms of aesthetic formation of family through family décor and high contribution in appearance of husband and children (p. 98-100). Collins (1992) also stated that women take care of cultural activities. Therefore, female's role in reproduction is not negligible which previous studies overlooked.

Schmutz, Stearns and Glennie (2016) found effects of (higher) education of parents on art participation of children which supported some previous studies such as Dumais (2008) and Nagel (2010). The finding of the present study is also consistent with these studies but not particularly to the art and dance participation, rather, generally, cultural participation. Moreover, Kraaykamp (2003) found that reading habits of parents develop reading habits of children while mediating education of parents.

The neglected aspect of reproduction theory is gender disparity which is scarcely incorporated in empirical studies (DiMaggio, 2004). Kaufman and Gabler (2004) reported gender disparity of cultural participation but females are less likely to benefit (in terms of college enrollment) from such activities than males. Although researcher of the study also found the disparity, but the results showed that females are more likely to perpetuate class culturally than economically. Robinson and Garnier (1985) explored that male and female have almost equal chances to reproduce elite class, whereas, education has least role in such reproduction. However, Nakhaie (1996) concluded that males have higher chances to reproduce their class than females. The finding of the present study is consistent with Nakahie (1966) but contrary to Robinson and Garnier (1985). Although, the finding of overall class reproduction revealed that males have higher odds of dominant class reproduction than females but the effect of dominant class of father on economic and cultural capital of females is 6.767 and 1.86 times higher than male respondents. However, interestingly, males from dominant class are 4.39 times highly likely to perpetuate dominant class economically, whereas, females

from the same class are 5.87 times highly likely to perpetuate their class culturally. Further, the finding of gender disparity in cultural participation is also consistent with Cheerbo and Peters (1995), Eccles and Barber (1999) and Christin (2012).

Silva and Roux (2011) found similarity in cultural practices of couples (married and non-married) in UK. However, regarding gender differences, they found that women had more established taste than men had. Their study included age differences as well and found that the difference of taste is higher within the age group of 25-54 of individuals. The results of present study supported Silva and Roux if the word "mother" is altered with "wives".

Ostrower (1998) found that higher class people value artwork that is status symbol for them whether they have rich knowledge about art work or not. Some scholars indicated and found change in the classical highbrow culture so does the change in homology of lifestyle. Some other scholars (Bihagen & Katz-Gerro, 2000; DiMaggio, 2004; Tepper, 2000) also reported that females are more inclined toward cultural activities or have higher cultural taste than males. One of the findings of the present study is consistent with these studies as it was explored that 16.7% female and 14% male respondents read art and literature. Moreover, 11.1% female and 6.7% male respondents read modern culture. Generally, majority of the factory owners, managers, university teachers and medical doctors are interested in art as they appeared to be fond of Pablo Picasso, Michael Angelo and De Vinci.

Further, most of the highbrow cultural activities were found among housewives such as 41.2% of them visit art galleries, 39.9% visit museums, 46.6% participate in social meetings and 85% do swimming. In terms of cultural participation, the findings of the study are also consistent with Willekens and Lievens (2014) who explored that females participate more in art activities than male.

Gripsrud et al. (2011) found that Norwegian students are highly likely to reproduce the social position of their fathers because they are enrolled in the discipline which is most relevant to their fathers, however, in terms of the taste, particularly classical music, the second generation is taking more interest in rock and pop instead of opera. Although, the shift of the taste in music occurred yet the homology of taste of music is evident. Similarly, Prieur et al. (2010) pointed out the changing cultural taste of individuals in Denmark. They found that the classical taste of music that established in Bourdieu's space of France is not similar with the space of Denmark due to the changing pattern of cultural practices. However, the homology of changed practices was evident in their studies. The findings of the study also found difference

of cultural taste between parents and children but this change of taste is opposite to the previous study because those studies found a kind of shift from classical to modern, however, the present study found inverse change such as 36.8% fathers and 31.2% mothers used to listen classical music, whereas, 47.9% of the respondents listen classical music. Similarly, 13.8% and 20.7% fathers visit art galleries and museums respectively; and 12.2% and 14.3% mothers visit art galleries and museum respectively, whereas, 27.2% and 33.6% respondents visit art galleries and museums.

One of the least concentrated variables in empirical researches on reproduction of unequal structure of distribution of capitals is habitus, perhaps, due its abstractions or measurement problem (Gaddis, 2013). However, some researchers e.g. Dumain (2002), attempted to operationalize the concept by measuring future aspirations. The limited empirical studies on habitus provide basic grounds for its operationalization and importance in the reproduction thesis (Gaddis, 2013). In this study, researcher also attempted to fill the empirical gap in the body of knowledge by operationalizing and testing the mediation hypothesis of habitus.

The results of mediation model, especially Gaddis' mediation model, are contrary to the previous researches (see figure 4.12a). Gaddis (2013) explored almost complete mediation of habitus between cultural capital and education (GPA) of students by using Baron and Kenny's statistical mediation model. Although, researcher of the current study also used Baron and Kenny's approach for mediation test through path analysis, but the results were not consistent with her study. Similarly, the results were also contrary to other studies such as the study by Dumais (2002) who also found significant mediation of habitus.

Moreover, the study also advanced the mediation model by mediation of children's cultural capital between cultural capital of parents and education of children. The findings of the mediation model are consistent with Sullivan's (2003) study which concluded that children cultural capital mediated parents' cultural capital. However, in terms of fathers' cultural capital, the finding is contrary because current research found negative effect of father's cultural capital on the capital of children. Conclusively, the present study did not support habitus mediation model; however, the hypothesis of the mediation of cultural capital was supported specifically its mediation between cultural capital of mother and education of the respondents.

Further mediation model was designed in order to deal with a technical issue with previous mediation models. Although, the mediation model of Gaddis is logically appropriate, but the model can be applied on the data collected because in this study, the target population was not children. In other words, the model meant to evaluate the mediation of habitus between cultural capital of children and their education. In the present study, respondents from different social positions and age groups were selected which showed that they have already attained their academic credentials, whereas, cultural capital was measured after the attainment of the credentials. It showed that Gaddis' mediation model tested in the study is actually evaluating the effect of cultural capital of respondents on their previous education, which could be logically inappropriate. The second mediation model in which cultural capital of the respondents mediated capitals of parents and education of the respondents also has the same problem of outcome variable.

Therefore, researcher constructed the other mediation models which incorporated habitus, capitals of parents and capitals of respondents after the attainment of academic credentials, if they have any. The results of the models showed that the aspiration to gain political power positively mediated economic capital of father and social capital of the respondents. The aspiration to gain political power positively mediated cultural capital of mother and social capital of the respondents. The aspiration to attain upper class culture negatively mediated cultural capital of mother and economic capital of the respondents.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter found that class reproduction exists in Southern Punjab. The Multiple Correspondence Analysis showed that dominant class of the respondents and their fathers have similar conditions of existence and distance from necessities. They also have homology of practices in terms of rich taste. However, the dominated class does not have distance from necessities. Therefore, their conditions of existence and homology of practices are lowbrow. This chapter also concludes that dominant class have high economic and highbrow cultural and social capital which they convert into each other as a strategy to maintain their relative positions in the social space of positions. However, the dominated class have low economic and lowbrow cultural and social capital which they do not convert into each other to uplift their living standard.

Chapter 5

Major findings, Conclusion and recommendations

Introduction of the chapter

The chapter summarizes the study, results and findings. The summarization comprised major findings from each step of triptych model including univariate analysis. Further, the chapter also presents suggestions for further studies as well as recommendation for policy makers in order to deal with the reproduction of class in the region which is evidenced by the study. In the chapter, one of the major interests to deal with policy recommendations in the light of the findings of the study is due to poverty alleviation agenda of current government.

5.1 Novelty of the study

The study took several novel steps to deal with reproduction theory. Initially, the study described why reproduction has been poorly dealt or if the theory is evaluated, previous studies violated major epistemological assumptions of the theory. Moreover, some studies remained cautioned epistemologically while describing and assessing the theory such as relational logic and social space, yet these studies partly dealt with the theory because relation logic guides to view society holistically. Therefore, it needed to be dealt with respect to its every major proposition relationally. Thus, the imperative novelty of the study is assessment of the theory comprehensively.

To evaluate the propositions of the theory the study proposed a model named triptych model of class reproduction. The model comprised three major steps to evaluate corresponding proposition of the theory. Quantitative evaluation demands valid and reliable operationalization of selected variables. In this regard, the study also introduced novel as well as comprehensive measurements, as much as possible, of major variables of reproduction theory. One of the most novel contribution in operationalization of the variables is measurement of habitus and capitals.

5.1.1 Novel operationalization

Habitus is a subjective concept which has rarely been measured in previous studies. Some studies attempted to operationalize the concept, but the measurement was too narrowed –confined to one indicator only. Although one can argue that a variable could be measured

through one indicator but that is possible for discreet variables such as gender. However, reproduction theory defined habitus in several ways such as a predisposed, ingrained and imbedded dispositions, carrier of individual and social history, structured structure and structuring structure – bilateral relationship with a field and agent, which dismantles that too confined measurement of the variable would be neither reliable nor valid operationalization. Therefore, the study operationalized the variable in terms of importance that individuals give to valuable resources such as education, upper class culture, political power etc. such measurement is valid because it actually measured aspiration (a major indicator of habitus) to attain or sustain these resources. Thus, the operationalization did not confine habitus rather extended it to valuable resources.

The operationalization of social capital has been measured in previous study in the light of Putnam's or Coleman's model. However, the conceptualization of the variable in reproduction theory is quite distinctive than other theories. In the theory, the capital is depicted as valuable connections which are also potential resources and can be accumulated and consumed as other capital. Therefore, the study measured valuable connections of individuals in terms of their effectiveness which reflected that the resources could be consumed to accumulate or sustain material and non-material resources and acquired social position.

The operationalization of cultural capital is also comprehensive which incorporated all forms of the capital. The embodied form has several indicators e.g. activities, language, viewing, reading etc. Researcher included almost all plausible indicator of the form in the current study. The other forms, which showed cultural taste or distinction in the taste, are also included such as preference of food intake and art or literature.

The study also dealt with the issue of economic capital measurement. This study included those indicators in measurement of the capital which could potentially contribute in distinction of its preponderance. Therefore, its surrogates i.e. physical and financial capital, were selected as indicators of the capital.

The study was also very cautious about coding of the variables such as composite variable of economic and cultural capital was not developed by using ad hoc coding rather through recently introduced model i.e. Multiple Correspondence K-means Model, which satisfies the criterion of relational logic.

5.1.2 Novel assessment

The study proposed a novel stepwise assessment of reproduction theory which has not been conducted in previous studies. Previous studies were confined to direct relationship between class of origin and destination which neglected the contribution of other variables in the process of reproduction. Although, some studies (e.g. Dumais, 2002; Gaddis, 2013) took notice of such shortcomings but they confined their studies to mediation model of reproduction only, whereas, the theory is interrelated web of variables which revealed its integrational approach, whereby, each variable, in some ways, associated to other. Thereby, partly assessment of the theory cannot elicit holistic picture of reproduction substantially in a region rather only one aspect of the theory. The study proposed that such assessment would only scratch the surface of theory such as drawing a conclusion of class reproduction through mere assessment of effect of cultural capital on education of children, in fact reduces the comprehensiveness of the theory. Moreover, it must also be noted that each proposition in the theory is related with other, thereby, it has an integrational nature. Thus, it demands a comprehensive assessment.

The present study dealt with the issue of empirical studies and proposed a model named triptych model of class reproduction. The model was constructed relying upon philosophical and epistemological methodology of modeling. The model proposed to assess reproduction theory holistically. Thus, triptych model incorporated major propositions of reproduction and corresponding methods of evaluation keeping in view the methodology of modelling. The major propositions selected to assess in South Punjab are reproduction of class and capitals, perpetuation of inherited class in next generation and conversion of capitals. The propositions were evaluation in loglinear model of homogeneous association. However, to construct social space of positions and to identify classes, the study used multiple corresponding analysis. Both statistical methods satisfy assumptions of multidimensional and relational logic. However, both models have some limitations such as MCA is not a hypothesis testing method and loglinear cannot assess mediation. Therefore, the study used structure equation modelling to cover up the issue.

5.2 Major findings

This section of the chapter deals with summary of major findings. However, the section is divided into each part of triptych model including univariate analysis.

5.2.1 Major findings from univariate analysis

The univariate findings of the study showed that 82% of the respondents were male, 81.3% were living in intact family system and 72% were earning greater than 50000 rupees per month. Majority of the respondents were married (66%), studied in public schools (60%) and were living in urban areas (66.4%). Majority of the respondents (98%) and their fathers have mobile phones (73%) and more than half of the total sample of fathers have their own houses (56%), whereas, 37% of the respondents and 15% of the mothers owned one house. Further, 25.4% respondents and 15.11% mothers owned cultivatable land, whereas, the percentage of ownership of the land was higher among fathers (28.4%) comparing with respondents and mothers. However, the mean monthly income of fathers and the respondents is slightly different (217806.85 and 203722.69 PKR, respectively), whereas, the mean income of mother is less than fathers and the respondents (8904.99 PKR). It is almost 24 times less than the mean income of fathers and 23 times less than that of the respondents.

The percentage of the literate respondents and fathers (98.1% and 81%, respectively) were quite higher than that of mothers (57%). Moreover, the highest percentage of respondents also showed that parents were investing in the education of their children. This is may be the reason that the percentage of reading various types of books was higher among respondents than their parents as the results revealed that the respondents were more interested in reading Urdu novels and general knowledge (35% and 38%, respectively) than other reading categories. Although, fathers have highest percentage of reading Urdu newspaper (49.4%) comparing with other categories they read but the percentage of reading religious books (43.2%) is close to their percentage of reading Urdu newspaper. However, mothers have higher religious tendency than the respondents and fathers as the results showed that mothers have highest percentage of reading religious texts (42%) than other reading categories.

The respondents have higher tendency of performing cultural activities than their parents because the respondents have higher percentage of almost all categories of cultural activities than their parents such as the findings showed that the percentage of playing outdoor games and visiting art galleries among respondents were double than the percentage of performing these activities among their parents. Moreover, respondents and their parents have highest percentage of attending social meetings.

In the activities, the findings also showed that mothers have highest percentage of watching television dramas than all other genres; however, fathers were more interested in

watching political programs because the percentage of watching the genre was highest among them. Although, respondents were also interested in the genre, but it was their second priority because action genre was the category of watching they watched the most.

Although, the respondents were also used to listen classical and folk music but the highest difference of musical preference between the respondents and parents was found in the category of pop music which means that parents have least percentage of listening pop music comparing with the respondents. Further, majority of the respondents preferred to wear cheap dresses such as local brands and outfits stitched by ordinary tailors, whereas, very least percentage of the respondents used to wear costly dresses e.g. costumes of fashion designers. The type of furniture that respondents have in their homes also have different percentages. Cumulatively, 41% of the respondents have branded, antique, artistic and modern fancy types of furniture in their homes. As far as collection of books concerns, 48% of the respondents have books in their homes. The preference of arts by the respondents showed that 30% of the respondents have art pictures in their homes, however, 66% respondents were not interested in art/artists.

English language competence of the respondents was higher than parents because they have higher percentage of excellent reading, writing, listing and speaking competence of the language. Further, the results also showed that the percentage of bourgeois parlance (57%) was higher than the percentage of common parlance (25%) among respondents. The percentage of bourgeois parlance was also lower among parents than the respondents. However, mothers have lowest percentage of speaking bourgeois parlance than the respondents and fathers.

The findings of habitus revealed that majority of the respondents (70%) aspired to increase or maintain their economic status, whereas, 75% of the respondents were inclined to attain elite education for them or for their children in case they were unmarried. Further, the social capital of parents have lowest percentage of social capital because the range of the percentage of no relationship with authoritative persons of parents was 91% to 95%, whereas, the range of the percentage of no relationship with the authorities of respondents was 61% to 75%. The results also showed that mothers have lowest percentage of social capital. Club membership was another indicator of social capital. The results of the membership depicted that less than a quarter of total number of parents and the respondents have club membership.

5.2.2 Major findings from Correspondence Models

The analysis of association of economic capital with social positions of the respondents revealed the workers, shopkeepers, salesmen and small farmers are associated with monthly income of less than 50000 PKR rupees. However, factory owners, medical doctors and zamindar are associated with >150000 PKR per month income, house ownership and cultivatable land ownership. The cultural activities of the respondents are also distributed among various social positions such as medical doctors are associated with yoga, cruising and painting/sculpturing; zamindar with swimming and boating; lawyers and college teacher with classical music; and factory owners with playing a musical instrument. However, almost all social positions included in dominated class are not associated with such highbrow activities.

The reading habits of the respondents are also associated with social positions of the respondents. Factory owners were found interested in reading modern culture and art/literature; university teachers preferred to read English newspaper; lawyers are associated with Urdu novels and general knowledge; college teachers and supervisors used to read religious texts and Urdu newspaper. Moreover, university teachers are also strongly associated with bourgeois parlance, whereas, shopkeepers and salesmen are strongly related with common parlance.

The results regarding viewing habits and social positions of the respondents showed that zamindar are associated with “other” category of viewing habit. The category comprised documentary, business news, sport programs and fashion shows. Supervisors are associated with action and college teachers with television dramas. Medical doctors are related with family and romance genre. Furthermore, the preference of types of music and social positions of the respondents revealed that factory owners are strongly associated with choral music. However, they are also found closer with blues and reggae music. Mangers, university teachers and medical doctors are associated with modern music i.e. rock, rap, jazz and pop. However, zamindar, supervisors and lawyers are strongly associated with classical music. The results also showed that folk music is preferred by salesman and zamindar.

The results of association between social positions of the respondents and their objectified cultural capital revealed that workers, shopkeepers, salesmen, small farmers, supervisors and small businessmen have not books and art pictures in their homes. However, they are associated with simple furniture. College teachers and university teachers are associated with branded furniture; zamindar have antique and modern fancy furniture in their

homes, medical doctors are strongly associated with art pictures in home. They also have book and artistic furniture in their home.

The results also showed that university teachers are associated with highest institutionalized cultural capital. College teachers are associated with M.Phil., degree. Zamindard, factory owners, medical doctors, managers and lawyers are associated with MA/M.Sc. level of education. School teachers are related with BA/B.Sc. level of education. However, workers are associated with primary, middle, matric and illiterate categories of education.

The results of social capital and social positions of the respondents showed that factory owners, zamindar, managers and medical doctors are strongly associated with club membership rather than social connections. However, Lawyers have effective relationship with bureaucrats, top managers, army officers and MNA/MPAs but least effective relationship with industrialists. Supervisors, small farmers, salesmen and schoolteachers have least effective relationship with bureaucrats, top managers and MNA/MPAs but effective relationship with local politicians. The lower level social positions have neither club membership nor relationship with these authoritative figures.

The association of social positions and habitus of the respondents revealed that college teachers and salesmen considered that attainment of elite education and enhancement of their economic status is essential for them. On the contrary, attainment of elite education among Zamindar, schoolteachers, small businessmen, small farmers and shopkeepers is not important for them. Factory owners have high aspiration to have relation with political authority and to sustain upper class culture.

The association between social positions of fathers and economic capital showed similar results because factory owners are also associated with >2 houses ownership and >200000 PKR income per month. Further, zamindar are found closer to the ownership of >50 acres of cultivatable land and medical doctors, politicians and managers are located in the same quadrant. Similar to the respondents, workers, shopkeepers, salesmen and supervisors are associated with <50000 PKR income per month. The cultural activities of fathers are distributed across their social positions. Factory owners are associated with foreign visits and cruising; zamindar, engineers, medical doctors and managers are associated with hunting, classical music, travelling and social meetings.

The social positions of father are also associated with various types of reading categories. University teachers are related with Urdu novel; factory owners are interested in reading science fiction, art/literature, modern culture, English novels, biographies and English newspaper; lawyers are associated with history, biographies and general knowledge; engineer, zamindar, government employees, managers and school teachers used to Urdu newspaper and religious books. Further, university teacher, medical doctors, lawyers and college teacher are strongly associated with bourgeois parlance, whereas, small businessmen, and supervisors, shopkeepers, small farmers and workers are found strongly related with common parlance.

The associations of father's social positions with categories of viewing habits showed that lawyers are associated with family genre and managers are related with television drama and comedy. College teachers, supervisors, engineers and zamindar are fond of religious programs. However, zamindar and engineers are not interested in watching horror genre. Furthermore, the preference of type of music among fathers and their social positions showed that factory owners are strongly associated with blues, choral and reggae music. However, almost rest of the social positions of fathers are associated with classical music.

Fathers with social position of university teachers are associated with PhD or equivalent level of education. College teachers are associated with M.Phil., level of education. Majority of the social positions are associated with M.A/M.Sc., and BA/B.Sc., level of education. However, workers and other lower level social positions fall between illiterate to matric level of education. The results of the social capital of fathers revealed that almost all social positions except lower level positions have club membership.

The association of mothers with their economic capital revealed that almost all measures of the capital found closer with housewives due to the fact that they have been least associated with economic activities as Ali et al. (2011), Isran, S., and Isran, M, (2012), Farid et al. (2014) and Aftab (2004). However, cultural activities of mother are distributed across their social positions such as university teachers are associated with gym workout; medical doctors and lawyers are associated with swimming, hiking and yoga; factory owners and managers are related with cruising, foreign visits, visiting art galleries and painting/sculpturing. Social meetings are associated with housewives. Similarly, the distribution of reading categories among various social positions of mothers showed that factory owners, university teachers and managers preferred to read modern cultural, English newspaper, art/literature, science fiction, biographies and English novels. These social positions are also associated with

bourgeois parlance. However, schoolteachers and managers are more closely related with the parlance than other social positions.

The viewing habits of mothers and their social positions showed that schoolteachers are strongly associated with family and political genre. Further, factory owners and small businessmen are also found closer with the genres. As the results of preference of music among fathers showed that except factory owners, almost all social positions are associated with classical music, similarly, the results of the preferences among mothers revealed that almost all social positions are associated with classical music. However, the social positions of mothers are also associated with folk music except lawyers and schoolteachers. The schoolteacher are associated with jazz music.

Those mothers whose social position was reported as university teacher and medical doctors are associated with M.Phil. and PhD level of education. Majority of the social position are related with BA/B.Sc. However, lower level of social positions is related with primary, middle, matric and illiterate categories of education. The association between social positions of mothers and their social capital showed that lawyers and managers have no effective relationship with MNA/MPAs, army officers, bureaucrats and local politicians. Housewives, zamindar and medical doctors have club membership.

To summarize, the social space of positions and lifestyle revealed cumulative results of association among capitals and social positions of the respondents and their fathers. The social space of positions constructed on respondents' data revealed that factory owners have >200000 PKR per month income, have >2 houses, studied from Aitchison college, have club membership, luxury cars, costly mobiles and laptops. Zamindar are closely associated with >50 acres of cultivatable land and studied from Sadique public school. Medical doctors are associated with painting/sculpturing. They preferred to read modern cultural books, interested in art and literature and read biographies. Lawyers are associated with 50000-100000 PKR per month, studied from the City School and Nishat Public School. The movement of education from lower to high showed the high education is associated with university teachers. Furthermore, managers have semi-costly laptop, modern fancy furniture in their homes. Overall, the associations showed that the above-mentioned social positions of the respondents were included in dominant class due their high economic and highbrow cultural and social capital. The space also showed that these social positions have similar conditions of existence, whereby, they also have homology of practices, rich taste and distance from necessity. Except

above mentioned social positions, rest of the social positions were included into dominated class.

The space constructed on fathers' data showed that factory owners are associated with foreign visits, cruising, costly laptop, visiting galleries and >200000 PKR per month. University teachers, medical doctors and engineers are associated with highest education and 100000-150000 earning PKR per month. Zamindar are associated with >50 acres of land and boating. University teachers are associated with 11-20 acres of cultivatable land. Manager are associated with semi-luxury cars and 100000-150000 PKR per month. Lawyers and politicians are associated with 50000-100000 PKR income per month, M. Phil. education and semi-costly laptop. Conclusively, the space revealed that social positions of fathers who have high economic capital and highbrow cultural and social capital are included in dominant class. Furthermore, their high economic, cultural and social capital also showed that they have similar conditions of existence. Therefore, they have distance from necessities, rich taste and homology of practices.

5.2.3 Major findings from Log linear Models

The log linear model was developed in order to assess class reproduction directly. The model on entire sample size showed that class reproduction exists in South Punjab. Dominant class of fathers significantly interacted with capitals of the respondents who inherited the class. However, the class strongly positively affected economic capital of the respondents than other capitals. Furthermore, the respondents perpetuated the inherited class through economic and cultural capital and their strategy of perpetuation is conversion of economic capital into cultural and social capital and vice versa.

The model of intact family system also supported the proposition of reproduction of capitals and class. The perpetuation of inherited dominant class by the respondent is through the economic and cultural capital and the conversion of these capitals into each other. However, the model of non-intact family system showed that the respondents from dominant class and non-intact family system could not convert economic and cultural capital into each other. The further models showed that the respondents from dominant class with elite and non-elite education also evidenced class reproduction. However, the respondents with elite education perpetuate inherited class through cultural capital. Therefore, they could only convert their economic and cultural capital into each other comparing with the respondents from the same class with non-elite education.

The models of class reproduction across gender also evidenced overall class reproduction. However, dominant class of fathers did not reproduce social capital of female respondents but cultural and economic, whereas, the class of fathers reproduced social as well as cultural and economic capital of the respondents. Furthermore, male and female respondents from dominant class perpetuated inherited class economically and culturally. However, females did not use any of the conversion strategies, whereas, male used capitals conversion strategy i.e. conversion of economic, social and cultural capital into each other.

5.2.4 Major findings from Mediation Models

The mediation models revealed that habitus did not mediate cultural capital and education of the respondents. Similarly, the model on elite education also showed that habitus has no mediation between cultural capital and education of the respondents. However, the cultural capital mediation model revealed that the capital of the respondents significantly mediated cultural capital of parents and the respondents' education. However, the mediation between cultural capital of fathers and education of the respondents is negative and the mediation between cultural capital of mothers and education of the respondent is positive.

Furthermore, the other mediation models revealed that the aspiration to gain political power among respondents positively mediated economic capital of father and social capital of the respondents. The aspiration to gain political power among respondents positively mediated cultural capital of mother and social capital of the respondents. The aspiration to attain upper class culture among respondents negatively mediated cultural capital of mother and economic capital of the respondents. The other mediation models showed that none of the indicators of habitus mediated between capitals of parents and the respondents.

5.3 Conclusion

The study was conducted in order to evaluate reproduction theory, especially, Bourdieusian because it provided a framework to deal with economic, cultural and social aspects of reproduction simultaneously, whereas, other theorists e.g. Bernstein, Althusser, Bowels and Gintis, restricted reproduction model to economic or cultural dimension only.

Initially, the study discussed reproduction theories in detail comparatively, thereby, the necessity to model reproduction theory was established and described. Moreover, the model researcher named Triptych Model of Class Reproduction was devised by incorporating vital

elements of the theory epistemologically, methodologically and analytically. Further, in order to evaluate the model social space of positions and lifestyle was constructed ab initio. The space revealed that the structure of South Punjab is chiastic –the hierarchization of agents in terms of inverse order of cultural and economic capital. The space further showed that the agents with similar volume of capital are subject to their homogeneous lifestyle. Agents with higher economic and cultural capital have substantive distance from necessities which potentially contribute in developing taste of art, material goods and cultural objects and practices. The space also revealed conditions of existence and class location of fractions. Thus, the associates of dominant and dominated class were found in the space that indicated the unequal distribution of capitals in the space. Further, the space of dominant class also revealed that owners of means of production tend to reproduce the ownership as well as the material differences from fractions within the class.

The identified classes and composite capitals were used to evaluate class reproduction, perpetuation and conversion of capitals across education, family and gender. The study evidenced overall class reproduction in South Punjab. Moreover, reproduction of capitals, perpetuation of class in next generation and conversion of capitals were also explored. Overall, the study evidenced reproduction of dominant class across family systems, educational disparity and gender. Moreover, in term of reproduction of capitals, the study found reproduction of economic capital except among respondents with elite education because they reproduce their class through cultural capital. However, it was concluded that reproduction of social capital did not exist neither in intact and non-intact family system nor among respondents with elite education and female respondents. However, reproduction of the capitals is evidenced among male respondents and respondents with non-elite education. Overall, total sample size revealed the reproduction of the capital. It was also explored that all samples perpetuate their class economically and culturally except respondents with elite education because their class reproduction is only subject to cultural capital but they perpetuate their dominant class economically which revealed the convertibility of economic and cultural capital in the class. However, all samples including total sample revealed that social capital did not contribute in class perpetuation.

The analysis of total sample also evidenced inter-convertibility of economic and cultural capital except in non-intact family. As researcher proposed that intact family system facilitates class reproduction better than non-intact family system, the results of convertibility

of the capitals supported that argument because intact family system provides more chances of labor time to parents to inculcate strategies of conversion of capitals than non-intact family system. Moreover, the results also showed that economic and social capital are convertible into each other except among female respondents and respondents with elite education. Lastly, the results from non-intact family system showed significant interaction between social and economic capital. This is due to the incapacity of conversion of economic capital into cultural and cultural into social, therefore, the only possible strategy that they could practice is the conversion of economic into social and vice versa.

In a nutshell, this study evidenced the chiastic structure of the social space of positions and reproduction of class in Southern Punjab. In terms of strategies of conversion of capitals, intact family system facilitated such reproduction better than non-intact family system. Moreover, females have higher odds of reproduction of class economically, but males perpetuate their class economically and females culturally because females convert the capital only into cultural capital, whereas, males convert economic capital into social capital as well. That is why, contrary to females, dominant class of fathers reproduce social capital of male respondents.

The study also assessed mediation models of habitus and cultural capital. It was concluded that habitus has no significant mediation between cultural capital of the respondents and education. On the contrary, the mediation of cultural capital of the respondents between parental cultural capital and education of the respondents was explored. However, mothers' cultural capital contributed more in formation and development of cultural capital of children than fathers' cultural capital. Further, the other mediation models revealed that the aspiration to gain political power among respondents positively mediated economic capital of father and social capital of respondents. The aspiration to gain political power among the respondents positively mediated cultural capital of mother and social capital of respondents. The aspiration to attain upper class culture among respondents negatively mediated cultural capital of mother and economic capital of the respondents. The other mediation models showed that none of the indicators of habitus mediated between capitals of parents and the respondents.

5.3.1 Policy recommendations

The government of Pakistan established an agenda of national economic growth in which poverty reduction is one of the prime objectives. Briefly, the agenda comprises six major themes, wherein, "revitalization of economic growth" is third in order. The agenda stated that the growth also included to reduce poverty level and to uplift living standard of poor people which can be achieved by creating 10 million jobs, building 5 million houses, making the country business friendly, rapid growth of small and medium enterprises etc. However, in the light of the present study, some prime aspects are neglected that the policy makers need to focus upon.

It is suggest that building houses, launching small enterprises, creating jobs etc. would not reduce the gap of inequality rather it may increase the gap because the houses may provide the poor a place for living, the jobs may contribute in earning a little higher, the small enterprises may provide them opportunities to commence a business but these steps would not reduce the economic gap between the poor and the rich. The major reason is that such steps would contribute in sustaining the richer their status because these opportunities would ultimately enhance the businesses of dominant class. The chances that poor class will avail while thinking that their living standard is getting higher would simultaneously support the business of dominant class which provide far more chances to them to earn more than the earning they already have that ultimately either widens the economic gap or contributes in perpetuating their dominant class.

Therefore, it is recommended that the government should focus upon how the reproduction should be restricted. In this regard, the government should encourage poor people to learn conversion of capital strategies. However, such conversion demands accumulated capital, at least one capital out of group of three capitals (economic or cultural or social capital). The government should, initially, train poor people about the strategy of economic capital conversion into institutionalized cultural capital because previous governments have been providing the capital without teaching the poor how to convert the capital into most appropriate capital which would primarily not only contributed to sustain the accumulated capital but also contributed to increase the volume of accumulated capital.

Therefore, they must be trained in order to accumulate embodied cultural capital and habitus of conversion. In this regard, the embodied form can be acquired by training them about

conversion strategy and attempting to change in class habitus which will highly contribute to adapt with changing external factors. Afterwards, the poor must be given sufficient amount of economic capital as initial conserved capital. The conserved economic capital should be used to convert into other forms of capital such as institutionalized cultural capital.

Although, such step would not bring change at once but it will establish the basic underpinning of change because if they consume their conserved economic capital at once it would not be able to convert into any other capital and would ultimately contribute to enhance the accumulated economic capital of dominant class. These steps should be taken in Southern Punjab because the findings evidence class reproduction in the region.

Furthermore, each division and district may also be focused with respect to their major industry which has gradually tried to reduce its production due to lack of resources that required to strengthen the industry. Such as District Multan has small manufacturing industry which was growing gradually two decades ago but in previous dictatorial era it fell down. The decrease in production in manufacturing industry, especially clothes manufacturing, unemployed thousands of workers and other adjacent lower level jobs. Due to the fact that they were already deprived, they were unable to survive in such deleterious situation. Although, public private partnership projects were launched at gross root level in that dictatorial era, but infrastructural development was the prime focus of the projects. Therefore, the initiatives did not contribute to reduce existing poverty level.

Public private partnership projects should be rejuvenated but their prime focus should be rehabilitation of small level business. At the first stage of the project, the government should build a liaison between each union council to identify deprived people. The identification of such people could be assigned to a committee or a team of government officials. At the second stage, the deprived people will be called for an interview regarding their expertise. For example, if a person has a technical skill of clothes designing, he should be selected to train other peoples in the skill, however, if a person who does not have any skill and he is interested to learn any of the human resources which have already been identified by the government officials, he should be included in the project as a learner.

At the third stage, government should sign a MOU with local industries, factories and other relevant institutes in which the skilled person can serve. Each (or more) unskilled person(s) should be assigned to each skilled person who are assigned in a factory, industry or

an institute. In this way, on the one hand, the skilled persons will begin to earn, and the unskilled persons will be trained in order to be able to earn money in the corresponding industry.

Moreover, Dera Ghazi Khan and Bahawalpur has a large amount of land which can be utilized to reduce poverty level in the regions. Government should identify the land which can be given to the poor people. The land, then, should be given to deserving people on easy conditions such as the land would be their arbitrary property which after five years should be renewed through another agreement. The land also should not be saleable.

Furthermore, the project should also seek technical support from Pakistan Agricultural Research Council and Agricultural Research Department. However, to seek technical support, technical skill preservers should be included in the project which will improve efficiency and effectiveness of the project. Therefore, young graduates should also be included in the project and the land should also be rented for four to five years with the condition that they will return the temporary ownership of the land to the government.

5.3.2 Suggestions for future studies

The future studies should take into account the following suggestions in order to extend the body of knowledge regarding class reproduction and social space of positions.

1. Future studies should incorporate the "instruments of reproduction", whereby, the structural effects beyond family and class can be explored. In this way, the reproduction theory could examine the role of law, politics and international relations as well in the process.

2. Although, previous studies examined reproduction theory in relation with gender studies, but future studies should evaluate the thesis through the gender and family system simultaneously such as class reproduction through females in intact and non-intact family system.

3. Several studies focused on assortative mating in order to explore mobility function; however, assortative mating or marital strategies are rarely used to comprehend class reproduction. This focus was out of the scope of the present study therefore, it is suggested that further studies should focus on marital strategies of different

social positions to explore how class reproduction took place through these strategies in various social positions.

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Appendix 1

A) Trend of headship distribution by age and gender in Pakistan.

Age Group	2007-08			2008-09			2010-11			2011-12		
	Female	Male	Both Sexes	Female	Male	Both Sexes	Female	Male	Both Sexes	Female	Male	Both Sexes
15-19	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.4
20-24	0.2	2.2	2.4	0.1	1.9	2.0	0.2	1.9	2.1	0.4	2.5	2.8
25-29	0.7	6.3	7.0	0.5	6.0	6.5	0.5	6.0	6.5	0.8	6.3	7.1
30-34	1.1	9.0	10.1	0.7	9.1	9.7	0.8	9.2	10.0	1.2	9.0	10.3
35-39	1.4	12.9	14.3	1.1	13.6	14.7	1.1	12.8	13.9	1.4	12.1	13.5
40-44	1.4	13.2	14.6	1.0	14.0	15.1	1.2	13.2	14.4	1.5	11.7	13.2
45-49	1.2	12.2	13.3	1.1	13.3	14.4	1.2	13.2	14.4	1.4	11.8	13.2
50-54	1.2	9.6	10.7	0.7	10.4	11.1	0.9	10.7	11.6	1.3	9.2	10.5
55-59	0.6	8.2	8.9	0.5	8.2	8.6	0.6	8.2	8.8	0.9	8.9	9.7
60-64	0.5	7.0	7.8	0.4	6.9	7.4	0.5	7.1	7.6	0.6	7.1	7.7
65 years & above	0.7	9.9	10.6	0.7	9.4	10.1	0.8	9.6	10.4	1.0	10.4	11.4

Adapted from Compendium on gender statistics of Pakistan 2014

Appendix 2

I used national representative data of Pakistan Demographic and Health Surveys (PDHS) conducted in 1990-91, 2006-07 and 2012-13. The surveys used complex sampling design, therefore, data are weighted as per recommended procedure of PDHS before analysis. In the study, ever married women (age 14 – 49) are selected from 1990-91 (N = 6281, Weighted M_{age}= 31.18), 2006-07 (N = 9982, Weighted M_{age}= 32.37) and 2012-13 (N = 13506, Weighted M_{age}= 32.51) surveys. The predictor and outcome variables are mentioned in table 2.

Occupational status is operationalized by occupational group of husband and wife. In data of 2006-07, category "agricultural self-employed" of variable women occupation has zero response, therefore, in variable husband's occupation, category "agricultural self-employed" (n = 07) is merged into agricultural employee to make categories similar for wife and husband. The values of variables x_i and x_j became $1 \leq i \leq 9$ and $1 \leq j \leq 9$. PDHS measured over 99 occupational titles of respondents and grouped them according to the categories of International Standards Classification of Occupations. To define outcome variables, I used Kalmijn (1994) method. Occupational status of wife x_i and husband x_j ($1 \leq i \leq 10$ and $1 \leq j \leq 10$) if satisfy the condition $i = j$ then the first outcome would be $O_i = 1$. However, if $i \neq j$ then $O_i = 0$. Here, occupational homogamy refers to marry within same occupational group therefore, statistically $O_i = 1$ refers to occupational homogamy and $O_i = 0$ refers to otherwise ($0 \leq i \leq 1$). Lastly, if an individual married within same occupational and educational group, it is defined as exchange mode of homogamy.

Educational status is operationalized by education level of wife y_i and husband y_j ($1 \leq i \leq 4$ and $1 \leq j \leq 4$) and similar to occupational homogamy, if y_i and y_j satisfy the condition $i = j$ then $C_i = 1$ refers to educational homogamy. However, if $i \neq j$ then $C_i = 0$ refers to otherwise. Kalmijn (1994) used this procedure for log linear model, whereas, I intended to use occupational homogamy, educational homogamy and consanguinity as outcome variables in order to predict trends of these variables across time periods that directed me to use logistic model which is a special case of log linear model (Von Eye & Munn, 2013, p. 355) same as log linear model of homogenous group (Agresti, 2007, p. 220). Therefore, I needed to construct two by two sub tables for each category of occupational and educational groups. I developed the following method (table 1) to construct two by two table for each category out of larger table(s).

Table 1

Procedure to create two by two sub-table.

Variable		Professional	
		$x_i = 1$	$x_i = 0$
Occupational Homogamy	$O_i = 1$	D_{ij}	$(\sum D_{ij}) - D_{ij}$
	$O_i = 0$	$M_i - D_{ij}$	$\left(M_i - D_{ij}\right) - \sum(M_i - D_{ij})$

Where:

D_{ij} = observed frequencies in diagonal ith row and jth column (of larger cross table of husband-wife occupational status).

$\sum D_{ij}$ = sum of all diagonal ith rows' and jth columns' observed frequencies.

M_i = Marginal total of ith row.

Marginal total for variable $O_i = 1$can be computed through $D_{ij} + [(\sum D_{ij}) - D_{ij}]$; for $O_i = 0$: $(M_i - D_{ij}) + [\left(M_i - D_{ij}\right) - \sum(M_i - D_{ij})]$; for $x_i = 1$: $D_{ij} + (M_i - D_{ij})$; for $x_i = 0$: $\left[\left(\sum D_{ij}\right) - D_{ij}\right] + [\left(M_i - D_{ij}\right) - \sum(M_i - D_{ij})]$. Grand total $\sum\sum T$ is sum of marginal total.

By using the method mentioned in table 1, odd ratios for homogamy across educational and occupational statuses (e.g. odd ratio of women occupational homogamy in services occupational group as compare to not working group) can be computed through a simple equation which is as follow:

$$\Theta = \frac{P_{D_{ij} / (M_i - D_{ij})}}{N_{D_{ij} / (M_i - D_{ij})}}$$

Where, $P_{D_{ij} / (M_i - D_{ij})}$ computes odds of women occupational homogamy among professional/technician/manager group (henceforth professional) and $N_{D_{ij} / (M_i - D_{ij})}$ measures odds of women occupational homogamy among 'Not working' group. Keeping the denominator same, I changed odds of women occupational group to set "Not Working" as reference category. The same method is applied to measure odd ratios of women educational homogamy for each educational category. Consanguinity variable is available in the data therefore, I did not use the method to measure its odd ratios across women occupational,

educational and ethnic groups. To identify predictability of the models I used logistic regression though complex samples available in SPSS version 20. Multiple Correspondence Analysis is used to assess the co-existence of ethnic and social reproduction on the outcome variables that accompanied by economic classes.

To operationalize consanguinity, different technique is applied. In survey 2012-13, consanguinity is operationalized by a dummy variable that measured wife's blood relation with husband on dichotomous scale (Yes = 1 and No = 0). However, this dichotomous dummy variable is not available in other two surveys. In survey 1990-91 and 2006-07, question on blood relation with husband (measured on five categories) is selected to develop a dummy variable of consanguinity. Those women who married with their first cousin (either on father or mother side) are coded as 1= Yes and those who had no blood relation or other relationship with husband and married with second cousin are coded as 0 = No. Lastly, educational and occupational homogamy are taken as proxy measures of exchange of mode of homogamy (EMH), whereas, consanguinity represents cultural mode of homogamy (CMH).

Standard women occupational groups ranged from 1 = professional to 10 = Unemployed, and educational status ranged from 1= High to 4 = No education, are used as predictors of social reproduction through marriage. Age is classified in seven categories (1 = 15-19 to 7 = 45-49). Variable region measured provinces and type of place measured rural-urban distinction of women.

PDHS measured more than 19 ethnic groups and most of these ethnic groups have zero percent count, therefore, insignificant ethnic groups are merged in category "96 = others" in last two surveys. The significant ethnic groups (e.g. Punjabi and Sindhi) are given their original codes. These codes are used as standard coding for all surveys. Lastly, wealth index is selected as a proxy variable for economic class in Multiple Correspondence Analysis (Figure 1a and 1b).

Table 2 showed association matrix of women's demographic characteristics, EMH and CMH. All demographic characteristics are significantly associated with outcome variables ($p<.001$; $p<.05$). As expected, ethnicity has stronger association with consanguinity in 2006-07 and 2012-13, whereas occupational statuses have stronger association with occupational homogamy than consanguinity in all surveys. Similarly, educational groups have stronger association with cultural homogamy than occupational homogamy and consanguinity. Moreover, association among outcome variables showed that in 1990-01 and 2006-07

occupational homogamy is not significantly associated with consanguinity (p>.05) but in 2012-13 it has almost similar association with cultural homogamy and consanguinity (*p*<.001).

Table 2

Frequency, percentage and association matrix of demographic variables, predictors and outcomes.

Variable	1990-01	2006-07	2012-13
	f (weighted %)	*f* (weighted %)	*f* (weighted %)
Age			
15-19	382 (6.4)	576 (5.7)	565 (4.5)
20-24	1023 (16.1)	1555 (15)	2040 (15.6)
25-29	1401 (22.6)	2006 (20.1)	2716 (20.1)
30-34	1132 (17.9)	1705 (17.8)	2426 (18.6)
35-39	985 (15)	1641 (16.5)	2288 (16.4)
40-44	777 (12.8)	1278 (13)	1803 (13)
45-49	581 (9.3)	1221 (12)	1668 (11.8)
EMH			
Occupational homogamy	$\chi^2(6) = 17.64$*	$\chi^2(6) = 52.79$**	$\chi^2(6) = 26.54$**
Cultural homogamy	$\chi^2(6) = 59.29$**	$\chi^2(6) = 60.43$**	$\chi^2(6) = 18.46$*
CMH			
Consanguinity	$\chi^2(6) = 29.74$**	$\chi^2(6) = 41.65$**	$\chi^2(6) = 50.02$**
Region			
Punjab	2125 (59.9)	4250 (58)	3788 (57.5)
Sindh	1711 (23)	2695 (23.9)	2927 (23.1)
KPK[†]	1581 (13.3)	1857 (13.5)	2685 (14.1)
Balochistan	864 (3.8)	1180 (4.6)	1949(4.2)
G. Baltistan	–	–	1215 (0.7)
Islamabad	–	–	942 (0.5)
EMH			

Occupational homogamy	$\chi^2(3) = 20.38$**	$\chi^2(3) = 57.60$**	$\chi^2(5) = 125.22$**
Cultural homogamy	$\chi^2(3) = 39.65$**	$\chi^2(3) = 24.39$**	$\chi^2(5) = 58.78$**
CMH			
Consanguinity	$\chi^2(3) = 60.54$**	$\chi^2(3) = 69.12$**	$\chi^2(5) = 53.59$**
Type of Place			
Urban	3194 (30.4)	3813 (33.4)	6325 (33.4)
Rural	3087 (69.6)	6169 (66.6)	7181 (66.6)
EMH			
Occupational homogamy	$\chi^2(1) = 6.94$*	$\chi^2(1) = 82.64$**	$\chi^2(1) = 249.58$**
Cultural homogamy	$\chi^2(1) = 68.56$**	$\chi^2(1) = 0.017$	$\chi^2(1) = 5.13$*
CMH			
Consanguinity	$\chi^2(1) = 94.77$**	$\chi^2(1) = 175.66$**	$\chi^2(1) = 411.69$**
Ethnic groups			
Urdu		732 (8)	1280 (9.6)
Punjabi		3087 (41.3)	3050 (38.5)
Sindhi		1306 (10.4)	1273 (8.9)
Pushto		2052 (13.7)	2931 (13.3)
Balochi		560 (3.5)	596 (4)
Barauhi		159 (0.8)	569 (1.9)
Siraiki		1367 (15.6)	1336 (15.3)
Hindko		280 (2.8)	548 (3.2)
Other		439 (3.8)	1918 (5.4)
EMH			
Occupational homogamy		$\chi^2(8) = 186.42$**	$\chi^2(8) = 516.04$**
Cultural homogamy		$\chi^2(8) = 74.21$**	$\chi^2(8) = 78.75$**

CMH			
Consanguinity		$\chi^2(8) = 486.89^{**}$	$\chi^2(8) = 1053.7^{**}$
Educational status			
Primary	567 (9)	1339 (14.2)	1824 (15.9)
Secondary	791 (10.5)	1339 (14.2)	2408 (17.8)
Higher	110 (1.1)	664 (6.5)	1677 (9.3)
No Education	4813 (79.5)	6640 (65)	7597 (57)
EMH			
Occupational homogamy	$\chi^2(3) = 23.27^{**}$	$\chi^2(3) = 115.91^{**}$	$\chi^2(3) = 396.93^{**}$
Cultural homogamy	$\chi^2(3) = 321.45^{**}$	$\chi^2(3) = 558.72^{**}$	$\chi^2(3) = 852.79^{**}$
CMH			
Consanguinity	$\chi^2(3) = 80.33^{**}$	$\chi^2(3) = 135.04^{**}$	$\chi^2(3) = 376.15^{**}$
Occupational status			
Prof./Tech./Mang.	80 (1.1)	244 (2.4)	390 (2.3)
Clerical	9 (0.1)	6 (0.1)	7 (0.0)
Sales	15 (0.4)	68 (0.6)	69 (0.7)
Agri. self employed	133 (2.9)	-	4 (0.0)
Agri. employee	119 (3.7)	1066 (12.6)	784 (10.6)
Household	25 (0.4)	114 (1.1)	120 (1.0)
Services	24 (0.4)	1181 (10.6)	845 (6.9)
Skilled manual	508 (6.5)	71 (0.7)	160 (1.7)
Unskilled manual	90 (1.4)	183 (1.9)	577 (5.8)
Not working	5278 (83.1)	7049 (70)	10550 (71)
EMH			
Occupational homogamy	$\chi^2(9) = 1838.5^{**}$	$\chi^2(8) = 2235.2^{**}$	$\chi^2(9) = 4635.7^{**}$

Cultural homogamy	$\chi^2(9) = 55.64$**	$\chi^2(8) = 141.91$**	$\chi^2(9) = 182.43$**
CMH			
Consanguinity	$\chi^2(9) = 29.56$*	$\chi^2(8) = 41.19$**	$\chi^2(9) = 288.37$**
Occupational			
Homogamy			
$O_i = 1$	458 (7.5)	1199 (12.3)	1487 (13.4)
$O_i = 0$	5823 (92.5)	8783 (87.7)	12019 (86.6)
Educational homogamy	$\chi^2(1) = 6.41$*	$\chi^2(1) = 43.28$*	$\chi^2(1) = 58.8$**
Consanguinity	$\chi^2(1) = 0.22$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.099$	$\chi^2(1) = 55.4$**
Educational			
Homogamy			
$C_i = 1$	3398 (57)	4704 (46.7)	6424 (46.9)
$C_i = 0$	2883 (43)	5278 (53.3)	7082 (53.1)
Consanguinity	$\chi^2(1) = 32.39$**	$\chi^2(1) = 5.81$*	$\chi^2(1) = 33.30$**
Consanguinity			
Yes	2921 (50.1)	5056 (52.4)	8349 (65.3)
No	3355 (49.8)	4919 (47.5)	5149 (34.6)
Total	6281 (100)	9982 (100)	13506 (100)

Note: **. p<.001, *. p<.05, ₸ = North-West Frontier is now Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (KPK).

Table 3

Odd ratios and adjusted odd ratios for occupational homogamy, educational homogamy and consanguinity.

	Exchange modes of homogamy				Cultural mode of homogamy	
	Occupational homogamy		Educational homogamy		Consanguinity	
Predictor	OR	AOR[†]	OR	AOR[†]	OR	AOR[†]
1990-01						
Professional	21.37**	20.47**	1.91*	2.15*	0.46*	0.55
Clerical	21.94*	27.02*	1.58	1.75	0.41	0.41
Sales	70.80**	78.68**	1.09	1.01	0.98	0.97
Agri. self employed	114.81**	194.89**	2.43**	1.96*	1.48	1.19
Agri. Employee	9.22**	11.93**	1.76*	1.59*	1.37	1.06
Household	1.74	1.77	1.68	1.59	1.19	1.32
Services	26.24**	30.83**	1.19	1.19	1.42	1.37
Skilled manual	17.28**	23.86**	0.91	0.83	1.27	1.22
Unskilled manual	21.51**	26.27**	1.66*	1.55	0.92	0.86
Not working	1					
Primary					0.84	0.86
Secondary					0.56**	0.66*
Higher					0.18**	0.23**
No education					1	
2006-07						
Professional	12.71**	14.35**	2.28**	2.16**	0.78	0.87
Clerical	10.52*	10.19*	13.21*	12.33*	0.62	0.89
Sales	10.89**	10.59**	0.65	.65	0.86	0.82
Agri. employee	21.92**	22.39**	1.68**	1.67**	1.41*	0.94
Household	0.51	0.496	2.78**	2.62**	1.09	1.09

Services	3.57**	3.64**	1.04	0.98	1.15	0.87
Skilled manual	20.56**	21.77**	0.90	0.79	0.77	0.70
Unskilled manual	12.64**	13.09**	1.45*	1.43*	1.14	0.89
Not working	1					
Primary					0.79*	0.86*
Secondary					0.62**	0.81*
Higher					0.46**	0.69*
No education					1	
Urdu					0.87	1.12
Punjabi					1.98**	1.91*
Sindhi					4.08**	3.69**
Pushto					1.47**	2.21**
Balochi					3.46*	3.76**
Barauhi					2.89**	3.25**
Siraiki					3.73**	3.36**
Hindko					2.54**	3.81**
Others					1	
2012-13						
Professional	17.48**	22.84**	2.76**	2.74**	0.65*	0.69*
Clerical	1.49	2.03	0.94	0.85	2.16	2.08
Sales	21.49**	27.31**	1.05	1.08	1.14	1.27
Agri. self employed	66.69*	60.56*	0.67	0.70	24.86*	25.43*
Agri. employee	34.85**	36.78**	1.49**	1.65**	2.93**	1.67*
Household	0.79	0.97	2.44**	2.52**	0.87	0.92
Services	5.09**	6.16**	0.84*	0.85	1.26*	1.01
Skilled manual	123.13**	139.62**	1.84*	1.75*	1.72	1.19
Unskilled manual	45.92**	52.85**	1.47**	1.57**	1.56*	1.25
Not working	1					
Primary					0.81*	0.94
Secondary					0.53**	0.71**
Higher					0.37**	0.54**
No education					1	

Urdu	1.34	1.98*
Punjabi	2.33**	2.39**
Sindhi	6.56**	6.37**
Pushto	2.09**	2.51*
Balochi	16.59**	13.89**
Barauhi	4.63**	4.91**
Siraiki	7.19**	6.31**
Hindko	2.39**	3.04**
Others	1	

Note: **. $p<.001$, *. $p<.05$; 1= reference category; ŧ = Adjusted for Age, Region, type of place and ethnicity of women; ethnicity was not available in 1990-01 survey; ŧ = Adjusted for age, region, type of place, occupational and educational status.

Table 4

Description of models

Model	1990-01			2006-07			2012-13		
	Pseudo R^2	WF	PC%	Pseudo R^2	WF	PC%	Pseudo R^2	WF	PC%
Exchange mode of homogamy									
Occupational homogamy									
Occupational status	0.38	53.19**	93.8	0.308	112.71**	87.7	0.446	118.24**	88.2
AOC	0.396	44.317**	93.7	0.323	109.23**	88.1	0.461	88.787**	89
Educational homogamy									
Occupational status	0.012	16.23**	57	0.019	10.6**	56.4	0.018	0.0197**	56
AOC	0.045	2.796*	57.7	0.037	10.25**	57.5	0.031	11.28**	57.2
Cultural mode of homogamy									
Consanguinity									
Occupational status	0.006	2.01*	51.7	0.006	2.57*	52.8	0.032	6.417**	65.4
AOC	0.044	0.97	58.7	0.084	0.588	60.6	0.133	3.248*	67
Educational status	0.018	17.967**	53.7	0.018	26.28**	55.7	0.037	101.78**	66
AED	0.050	9.28**	59.1	0.085	4.330*	60.6	0.136	14.99**	67
Ethnic group				0.065	34.88**	58.5	0.111	41.72**	66.8
AET				.087	18.91**	60.7	0.14	17.57**	67

Note*:* **. p<.001, *. p<.05; PC = Predicted Classification; WF = Wald F, Wald statistic is of main variable only in models adjusted for other variables; AOC = Occupational status adjusted for other variables; AED = Educational status adjusted for other variables; AET = Ethnicity adjusted for other variables.

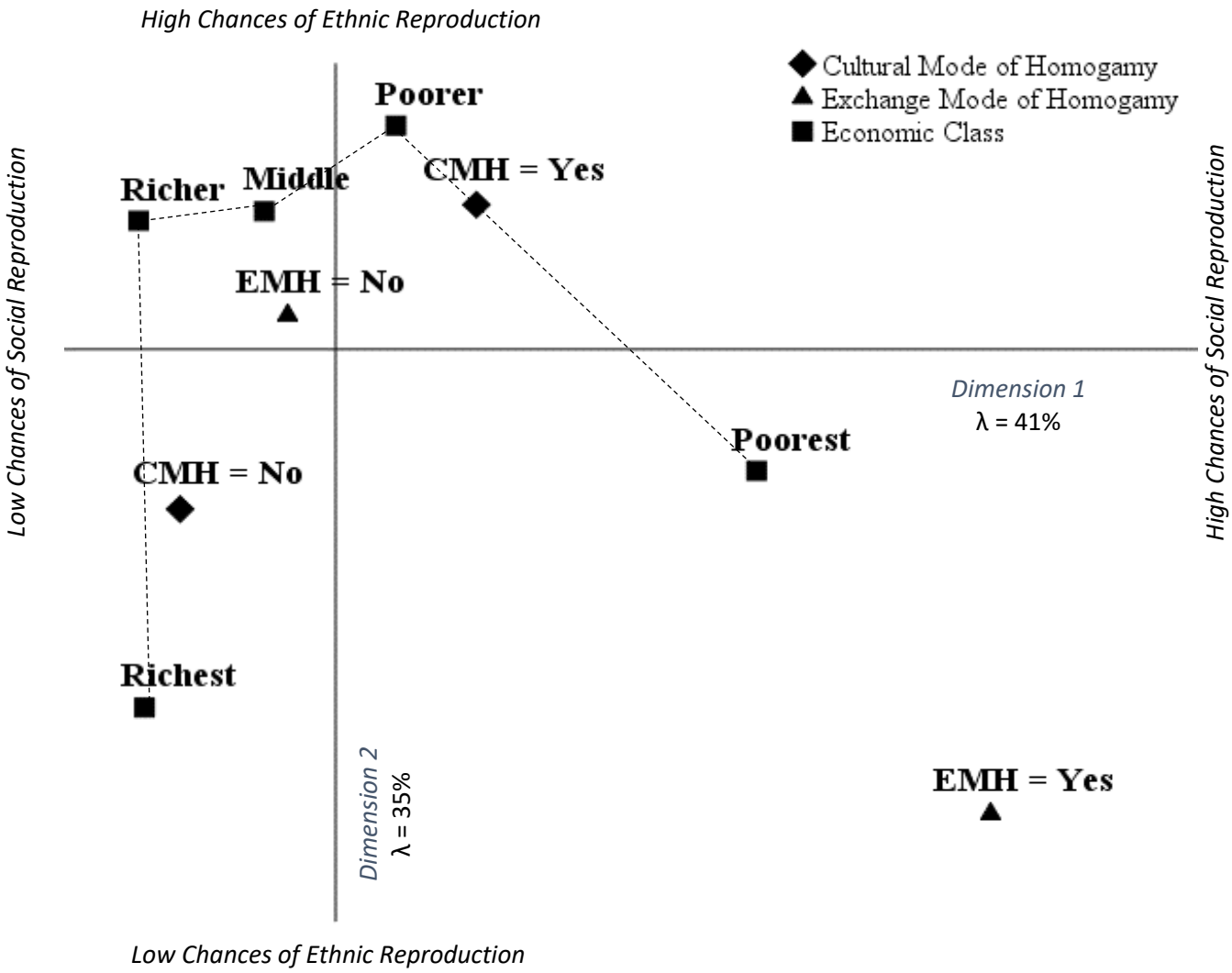

Figure 2 Co-existence of ethnic and social reproduction (2006-07). Multiple Correspondence Analysis.

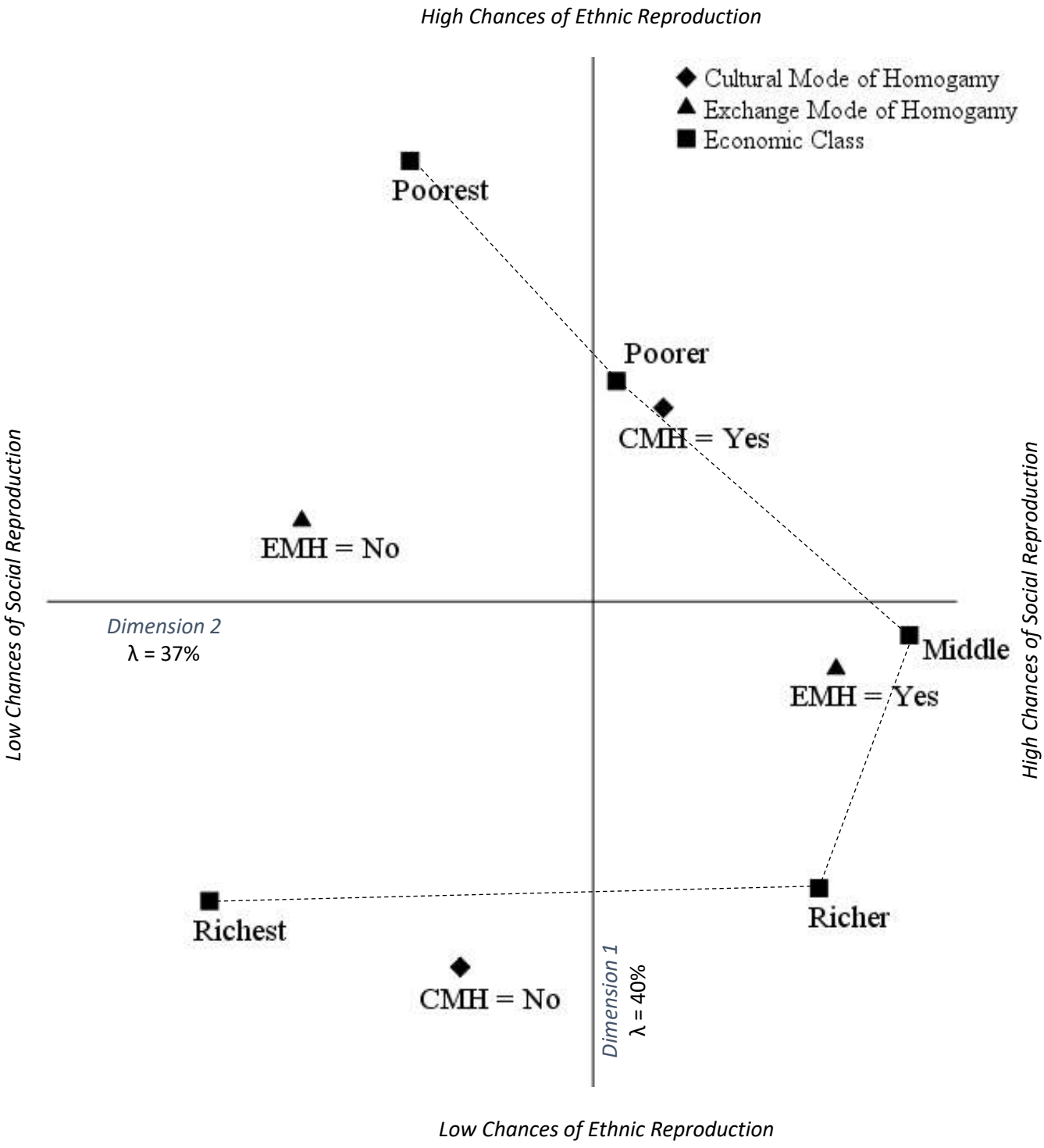

Figure 2 Co-existence of ethnic and social reproduction (2012-13). Multiple Correspondence Analysis.

It was explored that the prevalence of CMH increased by two percent in 2006-07 and 15% in 2012-13 as compared to 1990-01. Moreover, it increased 17% in rural and 13% in urban areas in 2012-13 comparing with 1990-01.

In 1990-01, the prevalence of the mode was higher in Punjab (52.6%), Balochistan (54.8%) and Sindh (50%) than KPK (38%). However, Sindh had the highest prevalence (56%) in 2006-07 but increased by 11% in 2012-13. In Balochistan it decreased three percent in 2006-07 but increased by 17% in 2012-13. In Punjab and KPK, it increased 13% and 17% respectively in 2012-13 comparing with 2006-07. It was significantly higher in rural Sindh (25%) and Punjab (13%) as compared to urban areas of the provinces, whereas, rural Balochistan had trivial difference (2.3%) from urban region of the province in 1990-01. From 2006-07 to 2012-13, in urban and rural Punjab it increased 12% and 13% respectively; in urban and rural Sindh, seven and 15% respectively; in urban and rural KPK, 15% and 17% respectively; and in urban and rural Balochistan, 21% and 15% respectively. Interestingly, it was higher in urban KPK (three percent) than rural region of the province in 1990-01. However, in 2006-07, it increased by 4% in rural areas and jumped 43% to 63% in 2012-13. Lastly, only 2012-13 survey has the data of Gilgit Baltistan and Islamabad which showed 49% and 56% prevalence of the mode respectively.

Among younger age groups (15-29), prevalence of the mode was between 50% to 56% in 1990-91 which increased up to the interval 53% to 62% in 2006-07 and 64% to 71% in 2012-13. Moreover, younger age groups (15-24) of urban areas also had higher percentage (40% to 47%) of the mode in 1990-01, 2006-07 (48% to 50%) and 2012-13 (59%). In rural areas, although, younger age groups (15-24) had higher percentage of the mode in 1990-01 (57% to 60%) and 2006-07 (57% to 66%) but it increased almost ≥ 70% across all age groups in 2012-13.

Occupational homogamy was 7.5% in 1990-01 which increased six percent in 2012-13. However, it was 43% less than the prevalence of CMH in 1990-01 that reached to 52% in 2012-13. In 2012-13, occupational homogamy in Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan increased by 7%, 7.5% and 3.2% respectively comparing with 1990-01. However, very insignificant increase (0.3%) occurred in KPK within the same time period but CMH continued to increase, whereby, the province had highest increase in the difference of prevalence (21.4%) between occupational homogamy and CMH. The difference was highest in Punjab (46%) and Balochistan (45%) in 1990-01 that decreased 4.3% and two percent in 2006-07 respectively. However, it increased

11% and 14% in these two provinces, respectively, in 2012-13. Moreover, very minor difference (0.2%) is observed in Sindh between 1990-01 and 2006-07 which 10.4% increase in 2012-13 comparing with 1990-01.

Interestingly, occupational homogamy was also high in rural areas across these time periods. In 1990-01, it was 6.4% in urban and 8% in rural areas which 1.7% increase in urban and 6.4% in rural areas in 2006-07. However, it 1.3% decreased in urban areas but continued to increase (2.2%) in rural areas in 2012-13. Overall, although it increased six percent within 1990-01 to 2012-13 by type of place yet it decreased in urban areas provincially between 2006-07 and 2012-13. In urban Punjab, Sindh and KPK it decreased by 0.4%, 2.6% and 2.8% respectively between 2006-07 and 2012-13. However, very slight increase (0.6%) in occupational homogamy is observed in urban Balochistan within same time interval but a decline of 1.6% in rural areas of the province is also found between 1990-01 and 2006-07. Moreover, it also decreased three percent in rural KPK between 2006-07 and 2012-13. Urban Islamabad had higher prevalence of occupational homogamy (12.8%) than rural (4.2%). On the contrary, it had higher prevalence in rural Gilgit Baltistan (12.5%) than urban (4.2%). Cumulatively, occupational homogamy 1.3% decreased and 2.2% increase in urban and rural areas provincially between 2006-07 and 2012-13. Comparatively, it was 43% less than the prevalence of CMH in 1990-01 by type of place. The difference decreased almost two percent in 2006-07. However, in 2012-13, prevalence of occupational homogamy was 52% lower than CMH by type of place (55% and 47% lower in rural and urban areas, respectively).

Considering age groups, occupational homogamy 4.8% increased between 1990-01 and 2007-07 that further increased 1.1% in next five years across all age groups. Cumulatively, it increased 6% across all age groups between 1990-01 and 2012-13. In 1990-01, medium (30-39) and older (40-49) age groups had higher percentage of occupational homogamy (7% to 10%) but in next 16 years it had higher prevalence (14% to 18%) among older age groups only. However, due to its highest increase (10%) among younger age groups in 2012-13, the interval of its prevalence across all age groups decreased from seven to three percent in 2012-13.

One of the interesting findings of the study is consecutive decline in educational homogamy from 1990-01 to 2012-13. Cumulatively, it decreased 10% between 1990-01 and 2006-07 and no significant change is observed in next five years (0.2% increased). From 1990-01 to 2012-12, it decreased five percent in Sindh, 12% in Punjab, 10.3% in KPK and 19.4% in Balochistan. By type of place, it declined more in rural (14%) than urban areas (almost one

percent) between 1990-01 and 2012-13. Within the same time interval, it decreased 16% and 1% in rural and urban Punjab respectively, 11% and 9% in rural and urban KPK respectively, and 21% and 7% in rural and urban Balochistan respectively. However, in 2012-13 a minor increase (0.6%) is found in urban Sindh, whereas, it decreased five percent in rural areas of the province between 1990-01 and 2012-13. Moreover, urban Islamabad had higher prevalence of cultural homogamy (63.2%) than its rural areas (42%). On the contrary, its prevalence is higher in rural areas of Gilgit Baltistan (50%) than rural areas of the region (40%).

It decreased across all age groups between 1990-01 and 2012-13. Within the same time interval, highest decline of is among older age groups (40-49), wherein, 13% decline is observed in 40-44 age group and 20% decline is identified in 45-49 age group. Moreover, in rural areas, it decreased almost 18%, 19% and 25% in 35-39, 40-44 and 45-49 age groups within the same time interval. Similarly, the decline was highest (8%) in 45-49 age group from urban areas. Its prevalence was highest in Balochistan comparing with other provinces across time intervals. In the province, it was 76.4% in 1990-01, whereas, between 2006-07 and 2012-13 no change is found. Although, rural areas of the province had highest percentage of educational homogamy in 1990-01 (51.4%) and 2006-07 (49%) but in 2012-13 Sindh had the highest prevalence of the homogamy (50.3%).

After describing the trends and diversity of outcome variables in relation with demographic variables across time periods, I compared outcome variables with each other within each time period so that variation in prevalence of each outcome variable can be signified. I found that in 1990-01, EMH (educational homogamy= 57%, occupational homogamy = 7.5%) was higher than CMH (50.1%) in the country. In 2006-07, CMH had higher prevalence in Punjab (53.1%) and Sindh (56.6%) but educational homogamy was prevalent in Balochistan (57%), whereas, CMH (52.5%) was higher than EMH (occupational homogamy = 12.3% and cultural homogamy = 46.70%) in the country. In 2012-13, although the prevalence of all outcome variables increased yet CMH had highest percentage (65.4%) in the country.

The analysis of prevalence and differences of outcome variables showed that although educational homogamy was prevalent in 90s but CMH became the most prevalent marital strategy in 20s, especially in rural areas. It also signified that marital strategies vary by geography and age that I suggest incorporating in further studies for more refined modelling.

In next section, I described trends and diversity of marital strategies within occupational, educational and ethnic groups.

Table 3 showed that agricultural self-employed (OR = 114) and sales group (OR = 70.8) married within their occupational status, even adjusting for other variables (OR = 194.8 and 78.6 respectively) in 1991-01. Moreover, all other occupational status is also significantly related with occupational homogamy (p>.05, for description of models, see table 4). In 2006-07, skilled manual (OR = 20.5 and AOR = 21.7) and agricultural self-employed (OR = 21.9 and AOR = 22.3) groups have almost similar and highest odd and adjusted odd ratios for occupational homogamy. However, household group was again appeared insignificant. Services group had lowest odd (3.5) and adjusted ratio (3.6) in 1990-01. In 2013, the trends of occupational homogamy among various occupational statuses significantly changed because instead of agricultural self-employed, skilled manual (OR = 123.1 and AOR = 139.6) had highest odd and adjusted ratio whereas adjusted odd ratio of agricultural self-employed decreased from 66.6 to 60.5. Moreover, in 1990-01 and 2006-7, household group was insignificant except for educational homogamy. In 2012-13 clerical group was insignificant even adjusting for other variables.

Although, the prevalence of occupational homogamy was significant among almost all occupational statuses, but its tendency decreased in 2006-07. The adjusted odd ratio of clerical (AOR =27) and sales (AOR = 78.6) groups decreased to AOR = 10. Similarly, AORs of professional, services and unskilled manual groups declined by 14.3, 10.5 and 13 respectively. However, the tendency increased only among agricultural employees (from AOR = 11.9 to AOR = 22.3). This increase could be less valid due to the fact that agricultural self-employed was combined with agricultural employee in 2006-07 analysis. Interestingly, the tendency of occupational homogamy increased in 2012-13 but, as mentioned above, variation of the tendency towards the homogamy among occupational statuses is evident such as the tendency increased among all occupational statuses except clerical (from AOR = 10 to AOR = 2).

In 1990-01, only professional (AOR = 1.9), agricultural self-employed (AOR = 2.4) and employee (AOR = 1.7) groups married within their educational groups, whereas, in 2006-07, clerical group (AOR =12.3), household and domestic workers (AOR = 2.6) and unskilled manual group (AOR = 1.4) preferred educational homogamy. Moreover, skilled manual also began to prefer the homogamy (AOR = 1.7) in 2012-13, whereas, it significantly declined in clerical and agricultural self-employed.

As far as CMH concerns, I found that it was not significantly related with occupational status but educational status and ethnicity. The chances of interaction between occupational status and consanguinity is also higher in rural areas due to the higher prevalence of consanguinity (Hussain & Bittles, 1998), therefore, agricultural self-employed (AOR = 25.5) and employee (AOR = 1.6) are related with CMH. Almost all ethnic groups married within their family except Urdu in 2006-07 which also contributed significantly in 2012-13 model. In 2006-07, all ethnic groups had almost similar odd ratios i.e. AOR ≥ 3 except Punjabi (AOR = 1.9) and Pushto (AOR = 2.2). However, Balochi highly preferred the mode (AOR = 13.8) in 2012-13. Overall, the tendency toward the mode increased in 2012-13 comparing with 2006-07. Although, secondary and high educational groups of women significantly related with the mode, but the odd ratios are very insignificant (i.e. AOR >.1).

I aimed to explore the co-existence of ethnic and social reproduction through EMH and CMH in the country. Other than occupational status of women, I included their educational status and ethnicity in CMH models while hypothesizing that ethnicity is stronger predictor of the mode than occupational and educational status. Theory of social reproduction considers marriage as one of the most important strategies of social reproduction, whereby, people tend to marry within same status group in order to maintain their relative positions in social space (Bourdieu, 1984, 1996; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990a). Furthermore, such strategy also enhances symbolic power of spouses, particularly spouse with privileged background. Our findings showed that such selection pattern is more important for less privileged than privileged groups such as agricultural self-employed and employees are highly likely to marry within same occupational status than unemployed.

As expected, I found that women with low occupational status (e.g. agricultural employee, see Nakhaie, 1996) tended to marry within same status group which is consistent with previous studies (e.g. Kalmijn, 1994) however in terms of educational status, the results are contrary to the findings of Mäenpää and Jalovaara (2015). In other words, the findings are contrary to the upward mobility studies which tend to believe that people with lower status can enhance their status by marrying in higher status group either on cultural or economic side. However, these studies neglected depreciation in symbolic power by marrying in higher social status group and focused only on substantive matter i.e. economic or cultural. Bourdieu (1996) and Bourdieu and Passeron, (1990a) asserted that people not only avoid marrying below their status but above as well because such misalliance threats their symbolic power. The study supported Bourdieu's assertion of misalliance. Therefore, it can be concluded that it is not only

the status women tend to reproduce by avoiding misalliance but their symbolic power as well. Although, the misalliance is supported yet his central claim of association between upper class stability social reproductions is not consistent with the finding due to the fact that EMH is prevalent among lower level occupational statuses (see figure 1 and 2). This result is consistent with the finding of Jonsson et al. (2009) who explored that lower class (micro-class) is highly likely to reproduce itself that, in turn, support the reproduction of upper class (big-class).

One important finding is variation in homogamy which showed that in 2006-07 the ratio of occupational homogamy among different occupational statuses decreased and educational homogamy spread among different occupational statuses even in 2012-13 as well. One possible explanation could be of change in instruments of reproduction e.g. education system or marital law (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 125). Bourdieu (1984) claimed that strategies of reproduction change with the change in instruments of reproduction. In this way, marriage market as instrument of social reproduction should be taken into account in relation with trends of the marital alliance but it would not be valid to assert that change in instruments of reproduction caused change in homogamy because the analysis included different age groups that certainly showed varying marriage time for each age group. Therefore, the results cannot be generalized in relation with instruments of social reproduction that is why I suggest that future studies should incorporate instruments of reproduction while analyzing social reproduction in relation with age.

Consanguinity is widely practiced marriage strategy in Pakistan (Agha, 2016; Hussain, 1999) and I argued that it is associated with reproduction of ethnicity and if it will be considered as an indicator of social status (Shami et al., 1994) then it is also associated with status reproduction. In other words, ethnicity is a badge of social status which forms ethnic identity in the county. However, if a woman marries outside the ethnic group, her ethnic identity will be extinct in next generation e.g. if Pushto woman marries Punjabi, her children would be known as Punjabi. CMH restricts such ethnic extinction and provides the advantages to transform identity to next generation in the patriarchal structure. Therefore, consanguineous marital strategy facilitates the perpetuation of ethnic positions across generation. In Pakistani context, the finding is consistent with the study of Hussain and Bittles (1998) and beyond the country, it supported the study of Hartung et al. (2011).

The results showed varying marriage strategies within the same marriage market which supported Bourdieu's argument that each group in a society does not use same strategy and

degree of strategy for reproduction. Moreover, if ethnicity is to be taken as a field: a field of ethnic relations, within the same marriage market, then social relations of positions among agents of the field is the relations of their accumulated capitals. Therefore, ethnic identity is the most valued currency in ethnic field and can be used as a form of capital (Shah et al., 2010). Thus, I could conclude that agents in the field of ethnicity used their ethnic identity as a capital to reproduce ethnicity through CMH.

Lastly, though the prevalence of social reproduction is lower than ethic reproduction, yet they co-exist within the same marriage market that signified the diverse preferences of marriage strategies and consumption of most valued capital that distinguish social reproduction from ethnic reproduction. The distinction is prominent (see figure 1a and 1b) because the currency of ethnic and other capitals cannot be consumed with the same value in each other's field. Therefore, assortative mating and homogamy theses can treat educational and occupational capital cumulatively due to their direct relation with economic capital in the market but cannot use ethnicity in the same way due to its distance from economic capital. Conclusively, ethnic capital does not tend to reproduce social hierarchies on economic dimension but on ethnic dimension, and occupational and education capital are potential contributors of reproduction of social hierarchies on economic dimension. Conclusively, CMH tends to reproduce ethnic hierarchies, whereas, EMH reproduces social hierarchies on economic dimension.

Appendix 3

QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE STUDY

My name is Shahzad Farid, I am Ph.D., Scholar (Sociology) from International Islamic University, Islamabad. I am intended to explore class reproduction in Pakistan therefore this questionnaire is designed to serve the purpose. Your concerned participation in my research will be highly appreciated. Moreover, I assure you that ***your responses will be kept confidential and anonymous****. The findings of the study will not be disclosed referring to any participants by name or personal identity. However, the conclusive results will represent the overall population and will only be used for academic purpose. I am very thankful to you, in advance, for your cooperation.*

I hope you are agreed to participate in this research, please mention your name and sing below.

Name_____ ***Signature***_____

1. What is your age? _____
2. What is your gender? 0) Female 1) Male
3. What is your family type? 1) Intact 2) Non-intact
4. What is your marital status? 1) Single 2) Married 3) Divorced 4) Widow / Widower
5. What is your permanent residence, or you belong to? 0) Rural area 1) Urban area
6. What is your caste / Biradari (برادری)?

   _____
7. Did you marry within your caste (برادری)? 1) Yes 0) No
8. Did your father marry within his caste (برادری)? 1) Yes 0) No
9. In which School you have studied 1) Public 2) Private
   a. Name of the school _____
10. What is the name of the university you studied in _____
11. What is your family income per month? _____ PKR.
12. **Occupation / job title** (**be as precise as you can**)

Your:	
Your Father's:	Your Mother's:

13. **Please mark the highest educational degree / certificate you and your parents secured?**

Degree / Certificate	**Your**	**Your father**	**Your mother**
Illiterate			
Primary or equivalent			
Middle or equivalent			
Matric / O. Level or equivalent			
FA / F.Sc. A. Level or equivalent			
BA / B.Sc. or equivalent			
MA / M.Sc. or equivalent			
M.Phil. or equivalent			
PhD or equivalent			

14. **Have your parents studied from any of the institution mentioned below?**

College	**You**	**Your father**	**Your mother**
Aitchison College			
Beacon House			
Sadiq Public School Bahawalpur			
Any other (please specify)			

15. What type of furniture is in your home?

1) Antique 2) Artistic 3) Modern fancy 4) Brand 5) Simple

6) Any other (specify) _____

16. **Please answer the following questions that you and your parents have**

Material Possessions	**Your**	**Your father's**	**Your mother's**
Type of cell phone			
Type of Laptop			
Type of car(s)			
Type of motorbike			
Number of House(s) owned			
Total income per month	PKR.	PKR.	PKR.

Cultivatable Agricultural land or land for any other purpose (*Owned*)	Acres:	Acres:	Acres:

17. Is the cultivatable land more than any other source of your family income?

1) Yes 0) No

18. Other than the land you owned, how much land you leased for cultivation?_____

19. **What type of <u>books and newspapers</u> you and your parents read?**

Items	**You**	**Your father**	**Your Mother**
Novel English			
Novel Urdu			
Biographies			
Science fiction books			
General Knowledge			
Religious books			
Modern Cultural books			
English Newspaper			
Urdu Newspaper			
Philosophical			
History			
Art			
Other (please specify)			

20. **Who is your favorite artists? (Please mark as many as your like)**

صادقین	انا مولکا احمد	احمد پرویز	عبدالرحمٰن چغتائی	عبدالرحیم نگوری	Pablo Picasso	Michael Angelo	Leonardo Di Vinci
Any other (Please Specify)							

21. **Please mark the activities you and your parents perform.**

How often do you perform activities as follow?	**You**	**Your Father**	**Your Mother**
Visit art galleries			
Visit museums			
Listen classical music			
Play outdoor sports (for example, golf)			
Painting or sculpture			
Play any musical instrument			
Attend social meetings (for example: پینچائت)			
Horse riding			
Swimming			
Boating			
Hunting			
Travelling			
Hiking			
Yoga			
Writing diary			
Weight lifting			
Any other (please specify)			

22. **What types of <u>programs / movies</u> you and your parents watch?**

You watch	**Your Father watch**	**Your Mother watch**

23. **Mark the type of Music you and your parents like**

You	Classical	Folk	Rap	Jazz	Rock	Other, Specify:
Father	Classical	Folk	Rap	Jazz	Rock	Other, Specify:
Mother	Classical	Folk	Rap	Jazz	Rock	Other, Specify:

24. Who is your favorite singer _____

25. What type of clothes you mostly wear? (select as many as you wear)

1) Local brands 2) International brands 3) Stitched from ordinary tailor
4) Stitched from fashion designer 5) Purchased from fashion shows
6) Any other (please specify) _____

25. What kind of food you mostly eat? (Select as many as you eat)

1) Traditional local 2) French 3) Chinese 4) Junk food
5) Western 6) Any other (please specify) _____

26. Which language you frequently speak at home?

A. English B. Urdu C. Punjabi D. Sraiki
C. Other (Please specify) _____

27. **Please score English proficiency of you and your parents.**

Your		Unable	Poor	Medium	Good	Excellent
	Reading					
	Writing					
	Speaking					
	Listening					
Your Father						
	Reading					
	Writing					
	Speaking					
	Listening					
Your Mother						
	Reading					
	Writing					
	Speaking					
	Listening					

28. Do you have any collection of books at home? 0) No 1) Yes

Number of books in your collection	
Number of books in your Father's collection	
Number of books in your Mother's collection	

29. Do you have membership of any public library? 0) No 1) Yes
30. Do you have Art pictures in your home? 0) No 1) Yes

31. **Please mark the following question while keeping view the grading given below to each item.**

Items	Essential	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not very Important	Not important at all
How much important for you to					
Increase your economic status					
Have upper class culture					
Have relations with rich people					
Have political power or authority					
Have prestigious education for children or for you (in case of single)					

32. Do you have any club membership? 1) Yes 2) No
    a. What is the name of club(s), you, your father and Mother is member?

    _____

    _____

33. **Please mark that how much effective relationship you and your parents have with people e.g., MNA or Bureaucrat.**

Question	**Items**					
My relationship with----------is		No relationship	Not at all eff.*	Least eff.	Eff.	Highly eff.
	MNAs / MPAs					
	Bureaucrats					
	Industrialists					
	Top Managers (e.g. CEO)					
	Army Officers					
	Local political leader(s)					
My Father's relationship with ---------- is						
	MNAs / MPAs					
	Bureaucrats					
	Industrialists					
	Top Managers (e.g. CEO)					
	Army Officers					
	Local political leader(s)					
My Mother's relationship with---------- is						
	MNAs / MPAs					
	Bureaucrats					
	Industrialists					
	Top Managers (e.g. CEO)					
	Army Officers					
	Local political leader(s)					

*. Eff. = Effective

Appendix 4

Name	Designation	School / College
Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghar	Former President	Aitchison
Malik Feroz Khan Noon	Former Prime Ministers	Aitchison
Imran Khan	Current Prime Minister	Aitchison
Shah Mahmood Qureshi	Current Foreign Minister	Aitchison
Sayed Babar Ali	Business: Founder of Packages Limited and LUMS	Aitchison
Justice Mansoor Ali Shah	Lawyer Supreme Court	Aitchison
Aitzaz Ahsan	Lawyer Supreme Court and Politician	Aitchison
Salman Ahmad	Singer, Physician and Professor at City University of New York.	Aitchison
Mian Ijaz ul Hassan	Painter and Writer	Aitchison
Syed Ali Raza	President National Bank of Pakistan	Sadiq Public School
Syed Salim Raza	Governor State Bank of Pakistan.	Sadiq Public School
Dr Mohammed U. Akhtar	Vice President, Motorola.	Sadiq Public School
Dr. Tariq Hassan	lawyer, columnist	Sadiq Public School
Jafar Khalid	Vice President and Chief Technical Officer at Ufone	Sadiq Public School
Ahmad Jawad	CEO Harvest Tradings Pakistan	Sadiq Public School
Waqar Younis	former captain Pakistan Cricket Team.	Sadiq Public School
Rameez Hassan Raja	former captain Pakistan Cricket Team	Sadiq Public School

Note: This is an abridged list, for more visit Aitchison and Sadiq Public School Alumni.

Appendix 5

I adapted definition of some social positions from Pakistan Standard Classification of Occupation (PSCO) (2015). It is important to note that job should not be confused with occupation because job refers to "set of tasks and duties performed, or meant to be performed, by one person, including for an employer or in self-employment" (PSCO, 2015, p. 9). However, occupation is defined as "the kind of work performed in a job. Occupation is defined as a "set of jobs whose main tasks and duties are characterized by a high degree of similarity" (PSCO, 2015, p. 9).

1. Farmer

Farmers in the study are subsistence crop farmers who "grow and harvest field or tree and shrub crops, vegetables and fruit, in order to provide food, shelter and a minimum of cash income for themselves and their households.

Tasks include -
(a) Preparing the soil, sowing, planting, tending and harvesting field crops;
(b) Growing vegetables, fruit and other tree and shrub crops;
(c) Fetching water and gathering firewood;
(c) Storing for later use and carrying out some processing of produce;
(e) Building and maintaining houses and other shelters;
(f) Making tools, clothes and utensils for use by the household;
(g) Selling some products at local markets.

2. Managers

Sales and Marketing managers:

Sales and marketing managers plan, direct and coordinate the sales and marketing activities of an enterprise or organization, or of enterprises that provide sales and marketing services to other enterprises and organizations.

Tasks include -
(a) Planning and organizing special sales and marketing programmes based on sales records and market assessments;
(b) Determining price lists, discount and delivery terms, sales promotion budgets, sales methods, special incentives and campaigns;

(c) Establishing and directing operational and administrative procedures related to sales and marketing activities;
(d) Leading and managing the activities of sales and marketing staff;
(e) Planning and directing daily operations;
(f) Establishing and managing budgets and controlling expenditure to ensure the efficient use of resources;
(g) Overseeing the selection, training and performance of staff;
(h) Representing the enterprise or organization at sales and marketing conventions, trade exhibitions and other forums.

Financial and insurance services branch managers

Financial and insurance services branch managers plan, direct, and coordinate the branches of institutions that provide financial and insurance services, such as banks, building societies, credit unions and insurance companies. They provide advice and assistance to clients on financial and insurance matters.

Tasks include
(a) Planning, directing and coordinating the activities of staff in the branch;
(b) Establishing and maintaining relationships with individual and business customers;
(c) Providing advice and assistance to customers on their financial and insurance needs and with matters such as changes in law that may affect customers;
(d) Examining, evaluating and processing loan and insurance applications;
(e) Monitoring credit extension decisions;
(f) Conducting financial investigations;
(g) Overseeing the flow of cash and financial instruments, and the preparation of financial and regulatory reports;
(h) Approving or rejecting, or coordinating the approval or rejection of, lines of credit commercial, real estate and personal loans;
(i) Coordinating cooperation with other branches of the company;
(j) Managing budgets, controlling expenditure and ensuring the efficient use of resources;
(k) Overseeing the selection, training and performance of staff.

3. Lawyers

Lawyers give clients legal advice on a wide variety of subjects, draw up legal documents, represent clients before administrative boards or tribunals and plead cases or conduct prosecutions in courts of justice, or instruct barristers to plead in higher courts of justice.

Tasks include –

(a) Giving clients legal advice on a wide variety of subjects and undertaking legal business on clients' behalf;

(b) Researching legal principles, statutes and previous court decisions related to specific cases;

(c) Gathering evidence to formulate a defence or to initiate legal actions, by such means as interviewing clients and witnesses to ascertain the facts of a case;

(d) Evaluate findings and develop strategies and arguments in preparation for presentation of cases;

(e) Pleading clients' cases before courts of law, tribunals and administrative boards or instructing barristers to plead in higher courts of justice;

(f) Accepting briefs and pleading in the higher court;

(g) Acting as prosecutor on behalf of the Government;

(h) Negotiating settlements in matters which involve legal disputes;

(i) Drafting legislation and preparing government regulations based on existing laws;

(j) Drawing up legal documents such as contracts, real estate transactions and wills and preparing statements of legal opinions.

4. Shopkeeper

Shopkeepers operate small retail shops either independently or with support from a small number of others.

Tasks include -

(a) Determining product mix, stock and price levels for goods to be sold;

(b) Purchasing and ordering goods for sale from markets, wholesalers and other suppliers

(c) Budgeting and maintaining records of stock levels and financial transactions;

(d) Determining prices and displaying goods for sale;

(e) Selling goods to customers and advising them on product use;

(f) Examining returned goods and deciding on appropriate action;

(g) Taking inventory of goods in stock.

5. University / college teacher

University and higher education teachers prepare and deliver lectures and conduct tutorials in one or more subjects within a prescribed course of study at a university or other higher educational institution. They conduct research, and prepare scholarly papers and books.

Tasks include -

(a) Designing and modifying curricula and preparing courses of study in accordance with requirements;

(b) Preparing and delivering lectures and conducting tutorials, seminars and laboratory experiments;

(c) Stimulating discussion and independent thought among students;

(d) Supervising, where appropriate, experimental and practical work undertaken by students;

(e) Administering, evaluating and marking examination papers and tests;

(f) Directing research of post-graduate students or other members of department;

(g) Researching into and developing concepts, theories and operational methods for application in industrial and other fields;

(h) Preparing scholarly books, papers or articles;

(i) Participating in departmental and faculty meetings and in conferences and seminars;

6. School teacher

Primary school teachers teach a range of subjects at the primary education level.

Tasks include -

(a) Preparing daily and longer term lesson plans in accordance with curriculum guidelines;

(b) Instructing children individually and in groups, using various teaching methods and materials (e.g. computers, books, games), adapting to children's varying needs;

(c) Maintaining discipline and good working habits in the classroom;

(d) Planning and conduct activities with the children such as sporting activities, concerts and excursions;

(e) Assigning and grading class work and homework;

(f) Preparing, administering, and grading tests and assignments to evaluate children's progress;

(g) Observing and evaluating children's performance and behaviour;

(h) Supervising children during classes and at other times in the school day, including the playground during breaks;

(i) Participating in staff meetings and other sessions, and conferring with other teachers concerning educational issues;

(j) Preparing for and attending parent meetings to discuss children's progress and problems.

7. Medical doctor

Medical doctors study, diagnose, treat and prevent illness, disease, injury, and other physical and mental impairments in humans through the application of the principles and procedures of modern medicine. They plan, supervise and evaluate the implementation of care and treatment plans by other health care providers, and conduct medical education and research activities.

Tasks performed usually include: conducting physical examinations of patients and interviewing them and their families to determine their health status ; ordering diagnostic tests and analyzing findings; prescribing and administering curative treatments and preventive measures; performing surgery and other clinical procedures; monitoring patients' progress and response to treatment; advising on health, nutrition and lifestyle behaviours which aid prevention or treatment of disease and disorders; identifying and managing complications before, during and after childbirth; planning, managing and implementing referral plans for patients in need of specialized, long-term or other types of health care services; exchanging medical information with other health professionals to ensure continuing and comprehensive care; reporting births, deaths and notifiable diseases to government authorities; conducting research into human disorders and illnesses and preventive or curative methods.

8. Worker

(1) Weaving and knitting machine operators set up, operate and monitor weaving and knitting machines which process yarn or thread into woven, non-woven and knitted products such as cloth, lace, carpets, rope, industrial fabric, hosiery and knitted garments or to quilt and embroider fabric.

Tasks include -

(a) Setting up and operating batteries of automatic, link-type knitting machines to knit garments of specified pattern and design;

(b) Threading yarn, thread, and fabric through guides, needles, and rollers of machines for weaving, knitting, or other processing;

(c) Tending automatic looms that simultaneously weave pile yarn, filling yarn, and warp yarn material to produce carpets and rugs with various coloured designs;

(d) Operating and monitoring loom on which yarn or twist is intersected and knotted at regular intervals to form mesh;

(e) Operating and monitoring large automatic multi-needle machines to embroider material or to sew lengths of several layers of material to make yard goods, quilts or mattress coverings;

(f) Tending circular knitting machines with automatic pattern controls that knit seamless hose;

(g) Operating and monitoring knitting machines to knit hosiery to shape of foot and leg;

(h) Operating and monitoring machine for knitting heel and toes of socks into ribs or tops cut from circular fabric;

(i) Operating and monitoring machine which seams openings in toes of socks;

(j) Operating and monitoring crocheter machine to knit lace, trimming etc. of desired pattern or design;

(k) Examining looms to determine causes of loom stoppage, such as warp filling, harness breaks, or mechanical defects;

(l) Repairing or replacing worn or defective needles and other components;

(m) Cleaning, oiling, and lubricating machines, using air hoses, cleaning solutions, rags, oil cans, and/or grease guns.

(2) Manufacturing labourers perform a variety of manual tasks in manufacturing, assist the work of machine operators and assemblers, and undertake product-sorting and hand-assembling of components.

Tasks performed usually include:

Packing material and various products by hand; filling bottles, boxes, bags and other containers with products by hand; labelling products and containers by hand; conveying goods, material, equipment to work area; cleaning machinery, equipment and tools; carrying out manual sorting of products or components; carrying out simple hand-assembling of components.

9. Supervisor

In distinguishing between managers classified in major group 1, Managers, and supervisors, classified in other major groups, it should be noted that both managers and supervisors may plan, organize, coordinate, control and direct the work done by others. In addition, managers usually have responsibility for and make decisions about: the overall strategic and operational direction of a business or organizational unit (for example about the

kinds, quantity and quality of goods to be produced); budgets (how much money is to be spent and for what purposes); and the selection, appointment and dismissal of staff. Supervisors may provide advice and assistance to managers on these matters, especially in relation to staff selection and dismissal, but do not have authority to make decisions (p. 183, in notes). In the study, we selected supervisor who supervises the salespersons.

10. Salesman

Salesman in the study refer to "Stall and market salespersons sell various goods from stalls on open-air or covered markets or from stalls in streets or other open spaces."

Tasks include -

(a) Obtaining permission to set up a stand at a particular place in streets, markets or other open spaces;

(b) Determining product mix, stock and price levels for goods to be sold;

(c) Buying or contracting a regular supply of goods to be sold from wholesale suppliers or directly from producers;

(d) Erecting and dismantling stalls and stands, transporting, storing, loading and unloading goods for sale;

(e) Demonstrating and selling goods and accepting payment;

(f) Stacking and displaying goods for sale, and wrapping and packing goods sold;

(g) Keeping accounts and maintaining a record of stock levels.

11. Small Businessman

Similar to the difference between zamindar and farmer, in textile industry a small businessman owns means of production; control labor power; and do not sell their labor power to others. However, usually he used his own labor power as worker in his business.

12. Zamindar

Zamindar owns means of production (land and labor), have control over labor power, do not sell their labor power. The amount of land zamindar owns distinguishes him/her from farmer. Usually, zamindar owns large amount of land comparing with farmers. Although, zamindar can also be labeled as farmer but a farmer uses his own labor power in to grow or cultivate fields whereas zamindar purchases or owns such labor power.

13. Factory Owner

Factory owner owns means of production; do not sell their labor power; and have control over labor power.

Appendix 6

Object scores of cultural activities by MCA, PCA and CATPCA

MCA	PCA	CATPCA
-3.14	-3.14	-3.13
.05	.05	.05
-.10	-.10	-.10
-1.28	-1.28	-1.28
-2.01	-2.01	-2.01
-1.43	-1.43	-1.43
1.05	1.05	1.05
-.01	-.01	-.01
-.01	-.01	-.01
-.02	-.02	-.02
-.02	-.02	-.02
.50	.50	.50
.67	.67	.67
.13	.13	.13
-.02	-.02	-.02
-.81	-.81	-.81
.11	.11	.11
-.61	-.61	-.61
.22	.22	.22
1.05	1.05	1.05

Note: the table showed object scores of first 20 respondents. However, rotated scores are different.

Appendix 7

Occupation of Respondent	Occupation of Father																			
	Zamindar	Factory Owner	Manager	Supervisor	Salesman	Shopkeeper	University Teacher	College Teacher	School Teacher	Medical Doctor	Lawyer	Small Farmer	Worker	Small Business	Engineer	Hikmat	Politician	Govt. Employee	Retired	Total
Zamindar	*50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50
	**100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	***62.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
Factory Owner	3	34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	40
	7.5%	85.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	3.8%	87.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.8%
Manager	0	0	5	1	0	3	0	0	0	2	0	5	3	16	1	0	0	7	7	50
	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%	2.0%	0.0%	6.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%	0.0%	10.0%	6.0%	32.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	14.0%	14.0%	100.0%
	0.0%	0.0%	23.8%	11.1%	0.0%	10.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	11.1%	0.0%	4.4%	2.9%	16.3%	7.1%	0.0%	0.0%	11.7%	21.2%	7.2%
Supervisor	0	0	1	0	4	1	0	3	5	0	2	3	7	4	0	3	1	12	4	50
	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	8.0%	2.0%	0.0%	6.0%	10.0%	0.0%	4.0%	6.0%	14.0%	8.0%	0.0%	6.0%	2.0%	24.0%	8.0%	100.0%
	0.0%	0.0%	4.8%	0.0%	50.0%	3.6%	0.0%	27.3%	18.5%	0.0%	15.4%	2.7%	6.8%	4.1%	0.0%	42.9%	100.0%	20.0%	12.1%	7.2%
Salesman	0	0	0	4	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	20	2	0	2	0	5	11	50
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.0%	4.0%	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%	40.0%	4.0%	0.0%	4.0%	0.0%	10.0%	22.0%	100.0%
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	44.4%	25.0%	7.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.8%	19.4%	2.0%	0.0%	28.6%	0.0%	8.3%	33.3%	7.2%
Shopkeeper	0	0	0	1	1	12	0	0	4	0	0	16	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	50
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	2.0%	24.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.0%	0.0%	0.0%	32.0%	32.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	11.1%	12.5%	42.9%	0.0%	0.0%	14.8%	0.0%	0.0%	14.2%	15.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
University Teacher	4	0	3	0	0	0	5	3	4	2	1	0	9	13	3	1	0	1	1	50
	8.0%	0.0%	6.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%	6.0%	8.0%	4.0%	2.0%	0.0%	18.0%	26.0%	6.0%	2.0%	0.0%	2.0%	2.0%	100.0%

	5.0%	0.0%	14.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	71.4%	27.3%	14.8%	11.1%	7.7%	0.0%	8.7%	13.3%	21.4%	14.3%	0.0%	1.7%	3.0%	7.2%
College Teacher	6	0	2	0	1	0	0	4	3	2	1	1	3	11	1	1	0	6	8	50
	12.0%	0.0%	4.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.0%	6.0%	4.0%	2.0%	2.0%	6.0%	22.0%	2.0%	2.0%	0.0%	12.0%	16.0%	100.0%
	7.5%	0.0%	9.5%	0.0%	12.5%	0.0%	0.0%	36.4%	11.1%	11.1%	7.7%	.9%	2.9%	11.2%	7.1%	14.3%	0.0%	10.0%	24.2%	7.2%
School Teacher	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	7	0	0	18	4	8	0	0	0	7	1	50
	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.0%	0.0%	0.0%	14.0%	0.0%	0.0%	36.0%	8.0%	16.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	14.0%	2.0%	100.0%
	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	14.3%	0.0%	0.0%	25.9%	0.0%	0.0%	15.9%	3.9%	8.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	11.7%	3.0%	7.2%
Medical Doctor	11	5	7	0	0	0	2	0	0	8	1	1	0	1	8	0	0	5	1	50
	22.0%	10.0%	14.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	16.0%	2.0%	2.0%	0.0%	2.0%	16.0%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%	2.0%	100.0%
	13.8%	12.8%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	28.6%	0.0%	0.0%	44.4%	7.7%	.9%	0.0%	1.0%	57.1%	0.0%	0.0%	8.3%	3.0%	7.2%
Lawyer	1	0	3	1	0	1	0	1	3	4	8	5	4	3	1	0	0	15	0	50
	2.0%	0.0%	6.0%	2.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	2.0%	6.0%	8.0%	16.0%	10.0%	8.0%	6.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	30.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	1.3%	0.0%	14.3%	11.1%	0.0%	3.6%	0.0%	9.1%	11.1%	22.2%	61.5%	4.4%	3.9%	3.1%	7.1%	0.0%	0.0%	25.0%	0.0%	7.2%
Small Farmer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	44	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	50
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	88.0%	8.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.7%	0.0%	0.0%	38.9%	3.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.7%	0.0%	7.2%
Worker	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	15	30	0	0	0	0	1	0	50
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	6.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	30.0%	60.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	11.1%	0.0%	10.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	13.3%	29.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.7%	0.0%	7.2%
Small Business	4	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	37	0	0	0	0	0	50
	8.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	6.0%	6.0%	74.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	5.0%	0.0%	0.0%	11.1%	0.0%	7.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.7%	2.9%	37.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
	80	39	21	9	8	28	7	11	27	18	13	113	103	98	14	7	1	60	33	690
	11.6%	5.7%	3.0%	1.3%	1.2%	4.1%	1.0%	1.6%	3.9%	2.6%	1.9%	16.4%	14.9%	14.2%	2.0%	1.0%	.1%	8.7%	4.8%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: *Frequency; **% within occupation of respondent, *** % within occupation of father.

Appendix 8

Cross tabulation: type of mobile phones X Gender

Variable	What is your gender		Total
	Female	Male	
No mobile phone	*2	15	17
	**11.8%	88.2%	100.0%
	***1.6%	2.7%	2.5%
Simple mobile phone	9	67	76
	11.8%	88.2%	100.0%
	7.1%	11.9%	11.0%
Economical mobile phone	27	157	184
	14.7%	85.3%	100.0%
	21.4%	27.8%	26.7%
Semi-costly mobile phone	36	166	202
	17.8%	82.2%	100.0%
	28.6%	29.4%	29.3%
Costly mobile phone	52	159	211
	24.6%	75.4%	100.0%
	41.3%	28.2%	30.6%
Total	126	564	690
	18.3%	81.7%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: *Frequency; **% within type of mobile phone, *** % within gender.

Cross tabulation: Type of permanent residence X permanent resident

Variable	Type of permanent residence		Total
	Rural	Urban	
No mobile phone	*4	13	17
	**23.5%	76.5%	100.0%
	***1.7%	2.8%	2.5%
Simple mobile phone	28	48	76
	36.8%	63.2%	100.0%
	12.1%	10.5%	11.0%
Economical mobile phone	57	127	184
	31.0%	69.0%	100.0%
	24.6%	27.7%	26.7%
Semi-costly mobile phone	72	130	202
	35.6%	64.4%	100.0%
	31.0%	28.4%	29.3%
Costly mobile phone	71	140	211
	33.6%	66.4%	100.0%
	30.6%	30.6%	30.6%
Total	232	458	690
	33.6%	66.4%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: *Frequency; **% within type of mobile phone, *** % within type of residence.

Cross tabulation: Occupation of respondents X type of mobile phone

Occupations	Mobile Phone					Total
	No mobile phone	Simple mobile phone	Economical mobile phone	Semi-costly mobile phone	Costly mobile phone	
Zamindar	*0	2	2	9	37	50
	**0.0%	4.0%	4.0%	18.0%	74.0%	100.0%
	***0.0%	2.6%	1.1%	4.5%	17.5%	7.2%
Factory Owner	0	0	0	0	40	40
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	19.0%	5.8%
Manager	0	0	7	25	18	50
	0.0%	0.0%	14.0%	50.0%	36.0%	100.0%
	0.0%	0.0%	3.8%	12.4%	8.5%	7.2%
Supervisor	0	2	10	24	14	50
	0.0%	4.0%	20.0%	48.0%	28.0%	100.0%
	0.0%	2.6%	5.4%	11.9%	6.6%	7.2%
Salesman	1	1	39	9	0	50
	2.0%	2.0%	78.0%	18.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	5.9%	1.3%	21.2%	4.5%	0.0%	7.2%
Shopkeeper	2	15	26	7	0	50
	4.0%	30.0%	52.0%	14.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	11.8%	19.7%	14.1%	3.5%	0.0%	7.2%
University Teacher	0	0	3	32	15	50
	0.0%	0.0%	6.0%	64.0%	30.0%	100.0%
	0.0%	0.0%	1.6%	15.8%	7.1%	7.2%
College Teacher	1	1	9	22	17	50
	2.0%	2.0%	18.0%	44.0%	34.0%	100.0%
	5.9%	1.3%	4.9%	10.9%	8.1%	7.2%

School Teacher	4	7	14	24	1	50
	8.0%	14.0%	28.0%	48.0%	2.0%	100.0%
	23.5%	9.2%	7.6%	11.9%	0.5%	7.2%
Medical Doctor	0	0	1	0	49	50
	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	98.0%	100.0%
	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	23.2%	7.2%
Lawyer	0	2	10	24	14	50
	0.0%	4.0%	20.0%	48.0%	28.0%	100.0%
	0.0%	2.6%	5.4%	11.9%	6.6%	7.2%
Small Farmer	1	19	26	4	0	50
	2.0%	38.0%	52.0%	8.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	5.9%	25.0%	14.1%	2.0%	0.0%	7.2%
Worker	6	23	19	2	0	50
	12.0%	46.0%	38.0%	4.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	35.3%	30.3%	10.3%	1.0%	0.0%	7.2%
Small Business	2	4	18	20	6	50
	4.0%	8.0%	36.0%	40.0%	12.0%	100.0%
	11.8%	5.3%	9.8%	9.9%	2.8%	7.2%
Total	17	76	184	202	211	690
	2.5%	11.0%	26.7%	29.3%	30.6%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: *Frequency; **% within occupation, *** % within type of mobile phones.

Cross tabulation: Laptop X Gender

Variable	Gender		
	Female	Male	Total
	*57	311	368
No laptop	**15.5%	84.5%	100.0%
	***45.2%	55.1%	53.3%
	8	36	44
Economical laptop	18.2%	81.8%	100.0%
	6.3%	6.4%	6.4%
	30	125	155
Semi-costly laptop	19.4%	80.6%	100.0%
	23.8%	22.2%	22.5%
	31	92	123
Costly laptop	25.2%	74.8%	100.0%
	24.6%	16.3%	17.8%
	126	564	690
Total	18.3%	81.7%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: *Frequency; **% within type of laptop, *** % within gender.

Cross tabulation: Laptop X permanent residence

Variable	permanent residence		
	Rural	Urban	Total
No laptop	*123	245	368
	**33.4%	66.6%	100.0%
	***53.0%	53.5%	53.3%
Economical laptop	14	30	44
	31.8%	68.2%	100.0%
	6.0%	6.6%	6.4%
Semi-costly laptop	58	97	155
	37.4%	62.6%	100.0%
	25.0%	21.2%	22.5%
Costly laptop	37	86	123
	30.1%	69.9%	100.0%
	15.9%	18.8%	17.8%
Total	232	458	690
	33.6%	66.4%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: *Frequency; **% within type of laptop, *** % within permanent residence.

Cross tabulation: Occupation of respondents X type of laptop

Variable	Laptop				Total
	No laptop	Economical laptop	Semi-costly laptop	Costly laptop	
Zamindar	*24	1	15	10	50
	**48.0%	2.0%	30.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	***6.5%	2.3%	9.7%	8.1%	7.2%
Factory Owner	1	0	0	39	40
	2.5%	0.0%	0.0%	97.5%	100.0%
	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	31.7%	5.8%
Manager	22	1	17	10	50
	44.0%	2.0%	34.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	6.0%	2.3%	11.0%	8.1%	7.2%
Supervisor	8	22	20	0	50
	16.0%	44.0%	40.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	2.2%	50.0%	12.9%	0.0%	7.2%
Salesman	42	2	6	0	50
	84.0%	4.0%	12.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	11.4%	4.5%	3.9%	0.0%	7.2%
Shopkeeper	45	0	4	1	50
	90.0%	0.0%	8.0%	2.0%	100.0%
	12.2%	0.0%	2.6%	0.8%	7.2%
University Teacher	13	2	34	1	50
	26.0%	4.0%	68.0%	2.0%	100.0%
	3.5%	4.5%	21.9%	0.8%	7.2%
College Teacher	15	6	19	10	50
	30.0%	12.0%	38.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	4.1%	13.6%	12.3%	8.1%	7.2%
School Teacher	29	7	13	1	50

	58.0%	14.0%	26.0%	2.0%	100.0%
	7.9%	15.9%	8.4%	0.8%	7.2%
	13	0	3	34	50
Medical Doctor	26.0%	0.0%	6.0%	68.0%	100.0%
	3.5%	0.0%	1.9%	27.6%	7.2%
	26	1	14	9	50
Lawyer	52.0%	2.0%	28.0%	18.0%	100.0%
	7.1%	2.3%	9.0%	7.3%	7.2%
	47	0	1	2	50
Small Farmer	94.0%	0.0%	2.0%	4.0%	100.0%
	12.8%	0.0%	0.6%	1.6%	7.2%
	49	0	1	0	50
Worker	98.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	13.3%	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	7.2%
	34	2	8	6	50
Small Business	68.0%	4.0%	16.0%	12.0%	100.0%
	9.2%	4.5%	5.2%	4.9%	7.2%
	368	44	155	123	690
Total	53.3%	6.4%	22.5%	17.8%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: *Frequency; **% within occupation, *** % within type of laptops.

Cross tabulation: Car X Gender

	What is your gender		Total
	Female	Male	
No Car	*69	367	436
	**15.8%	84.2%	100.0%
	***54.8%	65.1%	63.2%
Economical Car	17	46	63
	27.0%	73.0%	100.0%
	13.5%	8.2%	9.1%
Semi-Luxury Car	9	46	55
	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%
	7.1%	8.2%	8.0%
Luxury Car	31	105	136
	22.8%	77.2%	100.0%
	24.6%	18.6%	19.7%
Total	126	564	690
	18.3%	81.7%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: *Frequency; **% within type of Car, *** % within gender.

Cross tabulation: Car X permanent residence

Variable	Permanent residence		Total
	Rural	Urban	
No Car	*147	289	436
	**33.7%	66.3%	100.0%
	***63.4%	63.1%	63.2%
Economical Car	21	42	63
	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
	9.1%	9.2%	9.1%
Semi-Luxury Car	20	35	55
	36.4%	63.6%	100.0%
	8.6%	7.6%	8.0%
Luxury Car	44	92	136
	32.4%	67.6%	100.0%
	19.0%	20.1%	19.7%
Total	232	458	690
	33.6%	66.4%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: *Frequency; **% within type of Car, *** % within residence.

Cross tabulation: Occupation of respondents X type of car

Variable	Type of Car				Total
	No Car	Economical Car	Semi-Luxury Car	Luxury Car	
	*0	1	14	35	50
Zamindar	**0.0%	2.0%	28.0%	70.0%	100.0%
	***0.0%	1.6%	25.5%	25.7%	7.2%
	0	0	0	40	40
Factory Owner	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	29.4%	5.8%
	23	7	8	12	50
Manager	46.0%	14.0%	16.0%	24.0%	100.0%
	5.3%	11.1%	14.5%	8.8%	7.2%
	19	23	7	1	50
Supervisor	38.0%	46.0%	14.0%	2.0%	100.0%
	4.4%	36.5%	12.7%	0.7%	7.2%
	50	0	0	0	50
Salesman	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	11.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
	49	1	0	0	50
Shopkeeper	98.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	11.2%	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
	32	9	5	4	50
University Teacher	64.0%	18.0%	10.0%	8.0%	100.0%
	7.3%	14.3%	9.1%	2.9%	7.2%
	31	5	7	7	50
College Teacher	62.0%	10.0%	14.0%	14.0%	100.0%
	7.1%	7.9%	12.7%	5.1%	7.2%
School Teacher	47	0	2	1	50

	94.0%	0.0%	4.0%	2.0%	100.0%
	10.8%	0.0%	3.6%	0.7%	7.2%
	22	2	3	23	50
Medical Doctor	44.0%	4.0%	6.0%	46.0%	100.0%
	5.0%	3.2%	5.5%	16.9%	7.2%
	31	7	5	7	50
Lawyer	62.0%	14.0%	10.0%	14.0%	100.0%
	7.1%	11.1%	9.1%	5.1%	7.2%
	47	3	0	0	50
Small Farmer	94.0%	6.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	10.8%	4.8%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
	49	1	0	0	50
Worker	98.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	11.2%	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
	36	4	4	6	50
Small Business	72.0%	8.0%	8.0%	12.0%	100.0%
	8.3%	6.3%	7.3%	4.4%	7.2%
	436	63	55	136	690
Total	63.2%	9.1%	8.0%	19.7%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: *Frequency; **% within occupation, *** % within type of car

Cross tabulation: Type of *bike X Gender*

Variable	Gender		Total
	Female	Male	
No Bike	*60	242	302
	**19.9%	80.1%	100.0%
	***47.6%	42.9%	43.8%
Economical Bike	45	234	279
	16.1%	83.9%	100.0%
	35.7%	41.5%	40.4%
Semi Costly Bike	6	48	54
	11.1%	88.9%	100.0%
	4.8%	8.5%	7.8%
Costly Bike	15	40	55
	27.3%	72.7%	100.0%
	11.9%	7.1%	8.0%
Total	126	564	690
	18.3%	81.7%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: *Frequency; **% within type of Bike, *** % within gender.

Cross tabulation: Type of *bike X Permanent residence*

	Permanent residence		Total
	Rural	Urban	
	*105	197	302
No Bike	**34.8%	65.2%	100.0%
	***45.3%	43.0%	43.8%
	89	190	279
Economical Bike	31.9%	68.1%	100.0%
	38.4%	41.5%	40.4%
	21	33	54
Semi Costly Bike	38.9%	61.1%	100.0%
	9.1%	7.2%	7.8%
	17	38	55
Costly Bike	30.9%	69.1%	100.0%
	7.3%	8.3%	8.0%
	232	458	690
Total	33.6%	66.4%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: *Frequency; **% within type of Bike, *** % within permanent residence.

Cross tabulation: Occupation of respondents X type of bike

Variable			Type of Bike				Total
			No Bike	Economical Bike	Semi Costly Bike	Costly Bike	
	Zamindar	Count	16	22	5	7	50
		% within OCC_R	32.0%	44.0%	10.0%	14.0%	100.0%
		% within BikeR	5.3%	7.9%	9.3%	12.7%	7.2%
	Factory Owner	Count	23	0	3	14	40
		% within OCC_R	57.5%	0.0%	7.5%	35.0%	100.0%
		% within BikeR	7.6%	0.0%	5.6%	25.5%	5.8%
	Manager	Count	14	22	6	8	50
		% within OCC_R	28.0%	44.0%	12.0%	16.0%	100.0%
		% within BikeR	4.6%	7.9%	11.1%	14.5%	7.2%
	Supervisor	Count	15	23	7	5	50
		% within OCC_R	30.0%	46.0%	14.0%	10.0%	100.0%
		% within BikeR	5.0%	8.2%	13.0%	9.1%	7.2%
	Salesman	Count	3	33	14	0	50
		% within OCC_R	6.0%	66.0%	28.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within BikeR	1.0%	11.8%	25.9%	0.0%	7.2%
	Shopkeeper	Count	22	26	2	0	50
		% within OCC_R	44.0%	52.0%	4.0%	0.0%	100.0%

	% within BikeR	7.3%	9.3%	3.7%	0.0%	7.2%
	Count	38	10	1	1	50
University Teacher	% within OCC_R	76.0%	20.0%	2.0%	2.0%	100.0%
	% within BikeR	12.6%	3.6%	1.9%	1.8%	7.2%
	Count	25	19	6	0	50
College Teacher	% within OCC_R	50.0%	38.0%	12.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	% within BikeR	8.3%	6.8%	11.1%	0.0%	7.2%
	Count	27	22	0	1	50
School Teacher	% within OCC_R	54.0%	44.0%	0.0%	2.0%	100.0%
	% within BikeR	8.9%	7.9%	0.0%	1.8%	7.2%
	Count	39	2	1	8	50
Medical Doctor	% within OCC_R	78.0%	4.0%	2.0%	16.0%	100.0%
	% within BikeR	12.9%	0.7%	1.9%	14.5%	7.2%
	Count	18	23	2	7	50
Lawyer	% within OCC_R	36.0%	46.0%	4.0%	14.0%	100.0%
	% within BikeR	6.0%	8.2%	3.7%	12.7%	7.2%
	Count	11	36	1	2	50
Small Farmer	% within OCC_R	22.0%	72.0%	2.0%	4.0%	100.0%
	% within BikeR	3.6%	12.9%	1.9%	3.6%	7.2%

	Worker	Count	37	13	0	0	50
		% within OCC_R	74.0%	26.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within BikeR	12.3%	4.7%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
	Small Business	Count	14	28	6	2	50
		% within OCC_R	28.0%	56.0%	12.0%	4.0%	100.0%
		% within BikeR	4.6%	10.0%	11.1%	3.6%	7.2%
Total		Count	302	279	54	55	690
		% within OCC_R	43.8%	40.4%	7.8%	8.0%	100.0%
		% within BikeR	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: *Frequency; **% within occupation, *** % within type of car

Cross tabulation: Land Ownership X Gender

Variable	Gender		Total
	Female	Male	
	95	419	514
No Land	18.5%	81.5%	100.0%
	75.4%	74.3%	74.5%
	14	85	99
1-10 Acre	14.1%	85.9%	100.0%
	11.1%	15.1%	14.3%
	5	16	21
11-20 Acre	23.8%	76.2%	100.0%
	4.0%	2.8%	3.0%
	3	16	19
21-30 Acre	15.8%	84.2%	100.0%
	2.4%	2.8%	2.8%
	1	1	2
31-40 Acre	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	0.8%	0.2%	0.3%
	1	4	5
41-50 Acre	20.0%	80.0%	100.0%
	0.8%	0.7%	0.7%
	7	23	30
> 50 Acre	23.3%	76.7%	100.0%
	5.6%	4.1%	4.3%
	126	564	690
Total	18.3%	81.7%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: *Frequency; **% within type of land, *** % within gender.

Cross tabulation: Land Ownership X Permanent residence

Variable	Permanent residence		Total
	Rural	Urban	
No Land	*170	344	514
	**33.1%	66.9%	100.0%
	***73.3%	75.1%	74.5%
1-10 Acre	32	67	99
	32.3%	67.7%	100.0%
	13.8%	14.6%	14.3%
11-20 Acre	7	14	21
	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
	3.0%	3.1%	3.0%
21-30 Acre	10	9	19
	52.6%	47.4%	100.0%
	4.3%	2.0%	2.8%
31-40 Acre	0	2	2
	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	0.0%	0.4%	0.3%
41-50 Acre	3	2	5
	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
	1.3%	0.4%	0.7%
> 50 Acre	10	20	30
	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
	4.3%	4.4%	4.3%
Total	232	458	690
	33.6%	66.4%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: *Frequency; **% within type of land, *** % within permanent residence.

Cross tabulation: Occupation X Land ownership

Variable	Land Ownership							Total
	No Land	1-10 Acre	11-20 Acre	21-30 Acre	31-40 Acre	41-50 Acre	> 50 Acre	
Zamindar	0	5	2	14	2	3	24	50
	0.0%	10.0%	4.0%	28.0%	4.0%	6.0%	48.0%	100.0%
	0.0%	5.1%	9.5%	73.7%	100.0%	60.0%	80.0%	7.2%
Factory Owner	30	8	2	0	0	0	0	40
	75.0%	20.0%	5.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	5.8%	8.1%	9.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.8%
Manager	46	2	0	0	0	1	1	50
	92.0%	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	2.0%	100.0%
	8.9%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%	3.3%	7.2%
Supervisor	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	50
	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	9.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
Salesman	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	50
	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	9.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%

Shopkeeper	37	11	2	0	0	0	0	50
	74.0%	22.0%	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	7.2%	11.1%	9.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
University Teacher	47	2	0	1	0	0	0	50
	94.0%	4.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	9.1%	2.0%	0.0%	5.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
College Teacher	43	4	1	0	0	1	1	50
	86.0%	8.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	2.0%	100.0%
	8.4%	4.0%	4.8%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%	3.3%	7.2%
School Teacher	42	8	0	0	0	0	0	50
	84.0%	16.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	8.2%	8.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
Medical Doctor	42	2	1	1	0	0	4	50
	84.0%	4.0%	2.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.0%	100.0%
	8.2%	2.0%	4.8%	5.3%	0.0%	0.0%	13.3%	7.2%
Lawyer	44	4	1	1	0	0	0	50
	88.0%	8.0%	2.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	8.6%	4.0%	4.8%	5.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%

Small Farmer	4	35	9	2	0	0	0	50
	8.0%	70.0%	18.0%	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	0.8%	35.4%	42.9%	10.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
Worker	35	14	1	0	0	0	0	50
	70.0%	28.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	6.8%	14.1%	4.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
Small Business	44	4	2	0	0	0	0	50
	88.0%	8.0%	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	8.6%	4.0%	9.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
Total	514	99	21	19	2	5	30	690
	74.5%	14.3%	3.0%	2.8%	0.3%	0.7%	4.3%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Cross tabulation: House Ownership X Gender

Variable	Gender		Total
	Female	Male	
No House Ownership	*73	362	435
	**16.8%	83.2%	100.0%
	***57.9%	64.2%	63.0%
1-2 House Ownership	47	193	240
	19.6%	80.4%	100.0%
	37.3%	34.2%	34.8%
> 2 House Ownership	6	9	15
	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
	4.8%	1.6%	2.2%
Total	126	564	690
	18.3%	81.7%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: *Frequency; **% within house ownership, *** % within gender.

Cross tabulation: House Ownership X Permanent residence

Variable	Permanent residence		Total
	Rural	Urban	
No House Ownership	153	282	435
	35.2%	64.8%	100.0%
	65.9%	61.6%	63.0%
1-2 House Ownership	74	166	240
	30.8%	69.2%	100.0%
	31.9%	36.2%	34.8%
> 2 House Ownership	5	10	15
	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
	2.2%	2.2%	2.2%
Total	232	458	690
	33.6%	66.4%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: *Frequency; **% within house ownership, *** % within residence.

Cross tabulation: Occupation X House ownership

Occupation	House Ownership Categorized			Total
	No House Ownership	1-2 House Ownership	> 2 House Ownership	
Zamindar	14	36	0	50
	28.0%	72.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	3.2%	15.0%	0.0%	7.2%
Factory Owner	0	31	9	40
	0.0%	77.5%	22.5%	100.0%
	0.0%	12.9%	60.0%	5.8%
Manager	33	17	0	50
	66.0%	34.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	7.6%	7.1%	0.0%	7.2%
Supervisor	41	8	1	50
	82.0%	16.0%	2.0%	100.0%
	9.4%	3.3%	6.7%	7.2%
Salesman	47	3	0	50
	94.0%	6.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	10.8%	1.2%	0.0%	7.2%
Shopkeeper	35	15	0	50
	70.0%	30.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	8.0%	6.2%	0.0%	7.2%
University Teacher	35	15	0	50
	70.0%	30.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	8.0%	6.2%	0.0%	7.2%
College Teacher	31	18	1	50
	62.0%	36.0%	2.0%	100.0%
	7.1%	7.5%	6.7%	7.2%

School Teacher	37	13	0	50
	74.0%	26.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	8.5%	5.4%	0.0%	7.2%
Medical Doctor	35	13	2	50
	70.0%	26.0%	4.0%	100.0%
	8.0%	5.4%	13.3%	7.2%
Lawyer	32	18	0	50
	64.0%	36.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	7.4%	7.5%	0.0%	7.2%
Small Farmer	27	23	0	50
	54.0%	46.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	6.2%	9.6%	0.0%	7.2%
Worker	40	10	0	50
	80.0%	20.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	9.2%	4.2%	0.0%	7.2%
Small Business	28	20	2	50
	56.0%	40.0%	4.0%	100.0%
	6.4%	8.3%	13.3%	7.2%
Total	435	240	15	690
	63.0%	34.8%	2.2%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Cross tabulation: Income X Gender

	Gender		Total
	Female	Male	
	*44	283	327
< 50000	**13.5%	86.5%	100.0%
	***34.9%	50.2%	47.4%
	47	175	222
50000-100000	21.2%	78.8%	100.0%
	37.3%	31.0%	32.2%
	4	21	25
100000-150000	16.0%	84.0%	100.0%
	3.2%	3.7%	3.6%
	12	23	35
150000-200000	34.3%	65.7%	100.0%
	9.5%	4.1%	5.1%
	19	62	81
>200000	23.5%	76.5%	100.0%
	15.1%	11.0%	11.7%
	126	564	690
Total	18.3%	81.7%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: *Frequency; **% within monthly income PKR, *** % within gender.

Cross tabulation: Income X Permanent residence

Variable	Permanent residence		Total
	Rural	Urban	
	110	217	327
< 50000	33.6%	66.4%	100.0%
	47.4%	47.4%	47.4%
	70	152	222
50000-100000	31.5%	68.5%	100.0%
	30.2%	33.2%	32.2%
	11	14	25
100000-150000	44.0%	56.0%	100.0%
	4.7%	3.1%	3.6%
	9	26	35
150000-200000	25.7%	74.3%	100.0%
	3.9%	5.7%	5.1%
	32	49	81
>200000	39.5%	60.5%	100.0%
	13.8%	10.7%	11.7%
	232	458	690
Total	33.6%	66.4%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: *Frequency; **% within monthly income PKR, *** % within permanent residence.

Cross tabulation: *Occupation X Income*

Occupation	Income per month					Total
	< 50000	50000-100000	100000-150000	150000-200000	>200000	
Zamindar	2	8	3	5	32	50
	4.0%	16.0%	6.0%	10.0%	64.0%	100.0%
	0.6%	3.6%	12.0%	14.3%	39.5%	7.2%
Factory Owner	0	0	0	0	40	40
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	49.4%	5.8%
Manager	10	30	5	2	3	50
	20.0%	60.0%	10.0%	4.0%	6.0%	100.0%
	3.1%	13.5%	20.0%	5.7%	3.7%	7.2%
Supervisor	18	32	0	0	0	50
	36.0%	64.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	5.5%	14.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
Salesman	50	0	0	0	0	50
	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	15.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
Shopkeeper	46	4	0	0	0	50
	92.0%	8.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	14.1%	1.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
University Teacher	0	44	4	2	0	50
	0.0%	88.0%	8.0%	4.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	0.0%	19.8%	16.0%	5.7%	0.0%	7.2%
College Teacher	22	25	2	1	0	50
	44.0%	50.0%	4.0%	2.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	6.7%	11.3%	8.0%	2.9%	0.0%	7.2%

School Teacher	38	12	0	0	0	50
	76.0%	24.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	11.6%	5.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
Medical Doctor	1	18	5	25	1	50
	2.0%	36.0%	10.0%	50.0%	2.0%	100.0%
	0.3%	8.1%	20.0%	71.4%	1.2%	7.2%
Lawyer	26	23	0	0	1	50
	52.0%	46.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	100.0%
	8.0%	10.4%	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%	7.2%
Small Farmer	40	10	0	0	0	50
	80.0%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	12.2%	4.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
Worker	50	0	0	0	0	50
	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	15.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.2%
Small Business	24	16	6	0	4	50
	48.0%	32.0%	12.0%	0.0%	8.0%	100.0%
	7.3%	7.2%	24.0%	0.0%	4.9%	7.2%
Total	327	222	25	35	81	690
	47.4%	32.2%	3.6%	5.1%	11.7%	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Appendix 9

Cross tabulation of monthly income and club membership of the respondents

Monthly income		Club Membership		Total
		Have Membership	No Membership	
< 50000	Count	8	319	327
	% within Income	2.4%	97.6%	100.0%
50000-100000	Count	56	166	222
	% within Income	25.2%	74.8%	100.0%
100000-150000	Count	6	19	25
	% within Income	24.0%	76.0%	100.0%
150000-200000	Count	21	14	35
	% within Income	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
>200000	Count	67	14	81
	% within Income	82.7%	17.3%	100.0%
Total	Count	158	532	690
	Percentage	22.9%	77.1%	100.0%

Appendix 10

To
Evaluation committee / Supervisor,
International Islamic university, Islamabad.

Subject: Review of PhD research Questionnaire on topic "Family, Capitals and Education: A Triptych Model of Class Reproduction".

I, Dr. Haq Nawaz, Professor of Sociology, Chairman,Department of Sociology,Government College University, Faisalabad, delighted to pronounce that the sent questionnaire on the topic mentioned above was assessed profoundly on the following grounds(but not confined to),

1. Unambiguousness and vagueness of statements
2. Measurement of questions / items in relation with theoretical grounds, selected variables and population,
3. And overall outlook of the tool / questionnaire.

After comprehensive and in depth evaluation of the questionnaire / tool for data collection (attached here), I concluded that the questionnaire is well constructed and exhibiting explicit relationship between operationalization and conceptualization of selected variables. I, therefore, hereby approve the questionnaire / tool for data collection.

Evaluator / Assessor

Name:Prof. Dr. Haq Nawaz

Signature:

Professor
Department of Sociology
G.C. University, Faisalabad

Designation: Professor of Sociology,
Department of Sociology,
Head of the Department of
sociology, Government College
University, Faisalabad.

To
Evaluation committee / Supervisor,
International Islamic university, Islamabad.

Subject: Review of PhD research Questionnaire on Family, Capitals and Education: A Triptych Model of Class Reproduction.

I, Ijaz Ahmad, Professor of Statistics, Alamdar Hussain Islamia Degree College, Multan,hereby acknowledge that the given questionnaire / tool for data collection on the topic mentioned above was reviewed profoundly. I evaluated the questionnaire on the grounds as follow:

1. Clarityof statements in terms of their required measurement of variables in the research
2. Imperative statistical and research requirements for tool construction,
3. And appropriationfor statistical analysis.

After a complete review of the questionnaire (attached and singed), I found no need of its further scrutiny or evaluation. The questionnaire is exhaustive, saturated and exclusive, mutually. I therefore, approve the questionnaire / tool for data collection.

Evaluator / Assessor

Name: Professor Ijaz Ahmad

6Signature:

Designation: Professor of Statistics,
Head Department of Statistics,
Alamdar Hussain Degree College,
Multan.

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY

(Examination Branch)

***

No.IIU/Exam/2018- 9204 Dated: 22.11.2018

Report of Plagiarism Check

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22/11

(Ali Raafie)
Incharge (Research Section)

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